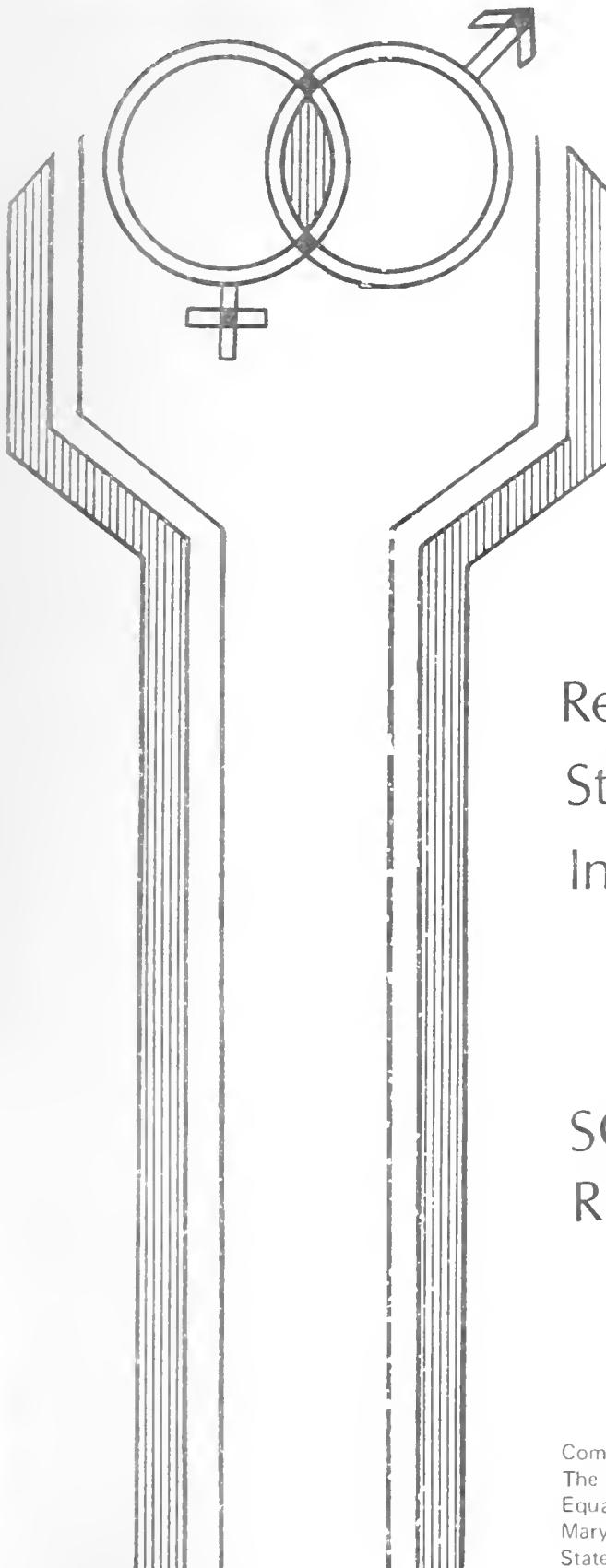


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EXPANDING BEYOND OUR ROLES



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Resources for Expanding Student Expectations In Montana Schools

SOCIAL STUDIES RESOURCES

Compiled by
The Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction
Equal Learning Opportunities Program
Mary Leonard-Connor, Coordinator
State Capitol, Helena, Montana 59601



Welcome!

You are one of those special people who cares about children, about their growth and development into strong, unique human individuals. You help them toward that goal by your acceptance of who they are--and your expectations of who they can become. These expectations have the tremendous power over their development to fashion how they feel about themselves, their world, and others; how well they achieve, in school and in life; and who they become as people. . .for the rest of their lives. It is an awesome responsibility.

It is also a complex challenge: too often we expect only that behavior and development of children which has been perceived as "normal" for their gender (sex stereotyping) or their cultural tradition (ethnic stereotyping). This subtle and serious disparity, this inequality of expectation has devastating effects on what children come to expect of themselves. It results in personal frustration for the individual and enormous waste of human resources for society. It violates numerous laws, but more importantly, contradicts the finest principles for which we as a democratic people stand.

What can be done to equalize our expectations of children to remove the "barriers to becoming" which stereotyping represents?

There are many possible approaches. Some of the best for eliminating sex role stereotyping have been gathered in this Resource Guide for your consideration. They are neither original nor complete, but rather a sample, an overview, with addresses of the producers included, or listed in the bibliographies, for your reference. Resource Guides are available for twelve areas, listed on the reverse of this page. We trust you will find at least some of them appropriate and effective for your situation.

We also hope you will let us know, via letter or Hotline (1-800-332-3402) when we can assist you in eliminating stereotyping in your school, classroom, community. The Equal Learning Opportunities Program is funded by the U.S. Office of Education under Title IV (CRA) to provide technical assistance for this purpose; full-time Cultural Awareness and Title IX (sex stereotyping) Specialists function in these capacities. We welcome your questions, comments and requests for help.

But the real credit and responsibility for achieving quality and equality in Montana schools belongs to you, the educators who work directly with students everyday. You are the only ones who can fashion or frustrate equal learning expectations and opportunities in the girls and boys, the multicultural students you serve. We welcome you again to this bright challenge and look forward to helping you help children to learn the critical importance of Reaching Beyond Our Roles.

MARY LEONARD-CONNOR, Coordinator
Equal Learning Opportunities Program

Resource Series Summary

1. Research Rationale, Title IX and Behavior Checklists
2. Elementary Level Strategies
3. Junior High Strategies
4. Senior High Strategies
5. Resources for Social Studies
6. Resources for English
7. Resources for Health, PE, Athletics
8. Resources for Homemaking
9. Counselor Manual
10. Library Resources, Bibliographies
11. Media Menu
12. Men's Liberation: Now It's Our Turn!

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SOCIAL EDUCATION



Women in U.S. History High School Textbooks

by JANICE LAW TRECKER

Should the Ku Klux Klan receive reams of documentary material [in textbooks] and woman suffrage none? . . . Is Henry Demarest Lloyd more important than Carrie Chapman Catt? Are the lengths of skirts significant enough to affect our information about women?" These and other questions were asked—and answered—by JANICE LAW TRECKER, who has taught English at L. P. Wilson Junior High School in Windsor, Connecticut, and reviewed films for the *West Hartford News*. Her analysis is a sharp protest against treating women as "supplementary material."

EARLY in our history, enterprising groups of English gentlemen attempted to found all-male colonies. The attempts were failures, but the idea of a society without women appears to have held extraordinary appeal for the descendants of those early colonists. Throughout our history, groups of intrepid bachelors struck off into the wilderness to live in

bachelor colonies free from civilization and femininity.

The closing of the frontier and the presence of women from the earliest days, of equally intrepid men, ended these dreams of masculine tranquility. Yet the most hopeful colonists may have had their revenge. Women have had their share in every stage of our history, exactly what they did and who they were remains obscure. Ask most high school students who Jane Addams, Ida Tarbell, or Susan B. Anthony were, and you may get an answer. Ask about Margaret Sanger, Abigail Duniway, or Margaret Brent, and you will probably get puzzled looks. Sojourner Truth, Frances Wright, Anna Howard Shaw, Flora Willard, Mary Bickerdyke, Maria Mitchell, Prudence Crandall, and scores of others sound like names from some historian's version of Trivia.

Jane Addams
Immigration, by Underwood & Underwood, New York



Harriet Tubman
Abolitionist
Courtesy, The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History



Edith Wharton
Woman



Interest in the fate of obscure Americans may seem an esoteric pursuit, but this is not the case. History, despite its enviable reputation for presenting the important facts about our past, is influenced by considerations other than the simple love of truth. It is an instrument of the greatest social utility, and the story of our past is a potent means of transmitting cultural images and stereotypes. One can scarcely doubt the impact of history upon the young in the face of recent minority groups' agitation for more of "their history."

Minority groups are perhaps not the only ones with a complaint against the historians and the schools, nor are they the only ones to show the effects of stereotypes. Consider the most recent reports of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. According to the 1968 report of the Commission, *American Women*, in the fall of 1968 only 40% of entering college freshmen were women. The lag in female participation in higher education is even more noticeable at the graduate level. Statistics from the Commission's 1968 report indicated that women earned only 1 in 3 of the B.A. degrees and M.A. degrees granted and only 1 in 10 of the doctorates. It is seldom noted that this represents a percentage decline from the 1930's when women received 2 in 5 B.A. degrees and M.A. degrees, and 1 in 7 Ph.D. degrees. The loss of potential talent this represents is clear from the Commission's information that among the top 10% of our high school seniors, there are twice as many girls as boys with no college plans.

Able girls are not entering science and mathematics in any great number, and, according to the *Conant Report*, they fail to take courses and programs commensurate with their abilities. There seems to be

a clear need for an examination of the factors which permit the loss of considerable amounts of female talent.

The Education Committee of the President's Commission on the Status of Women was concerned about this loss, noting that:

Low aspirations of girls are the result of complex and subtle forces. They are expressed in many ways—even high achievement—but accompanied by docility, passivity, or apathy. The high motivation found in the early school years often fades into a loss of commitment and interest, other than in the prospect of early marriage.

The Committee found some of the reasons for this loss of motivation are the stereotypes of women in our culture and in the lingering ideas of female inferiority.

Educators should be aware that the school is one of the means by which the stereotypes of women and their capacities are transmitted. As one of the main cultural forces in the society, the school shares a responsibility for the diminished aspirations of its female students. Looking at the position of women in our society, one would have to be very sanguine to say that the education of American girls needs no improvement. Something is wrong when women are concentrated in a relatively few, lower-paid positions; when there are few women represented in the upper levels of government and industry; and when the symptoms of discontent and frustration are all too clearly manifesting themselves among militant young women.

Something is indeed wrong, and educators should begin a rigorous investigation of their programs and practices in order to discover if they are reinforcing

Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor



Leontyne Price
Singer



Margaret Mitchell
Writer

the cultural pressures which discourage talented girls.

Analysis of High School Textbooks

A reasonable place to start, considering the admitted obscurity of most women in American history, is the United States history text. Are the stereotypes which limit girls' aspirations present in high school history texts?

The answer is yes. Despite some promising attempts to supplement the scant amount of information devoted to women in American history texts, most works are marred by sins of omission and commission. Texts omit many women of importance, while simultaneously minimizing the legal, social, and cultural disabilities which they faced. The authors tend to depict women in a passive role and to stress that their lives are determined by economic and political trends. Women are rarely shown fighting for anything; their rights have been "given" to them.

Women are omitted both from topics discussed and by the topics chosen for discussion. For example, while only a few women could possibly be included in discussions of diplomacy or military tactics, the omission of dance, film, and theater in discussions of intellectual and cultural life assures the omission of many of America's most creative individuals.

Women's true position in society is shown in more subtle ways as well. While every text examined included some mention of the "high position" enjoyed by American women, this is little more than a disclaimer. Wherever possible, authors select male leaders, and quote from male spokesmen. Even in discussions of reform movements, abolition, labor—areas in which there were articulate and able women leaders

only men are ever quoted. Even such topics as the life of frontier women is told through the reminiscences of men. When they are included, profiles and capsule biographies of women are often introduced in separate sections, apart from the body of the text. While this may simply be a consequence of attempting to update the text without resetting the book, it tends to reinforce the idea that women of note are after all, optional and supplementary. Interestingly enough, the increase in the amount of space devoted to Black history has not made room for the black woman. In these texts Black history follows the white pattern, and minimizes or omits the achievements of the black woman. Like the white woman, she is either omitted outright, or is minimized by the topics selected.

These assertions are based upon the examination of over a dozen of the most popular United States history textbooks. Most were first copyrighted in the sixties, although several hold copyrights as far back as the early fifties, and one text is copyrighted back to 1937. Included are the following:

Baldwin, Leland D. and Warring, Mary. *History of Our Republic*. Princeton, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1967.

Bragdon, Henry W. and McCutchen, Samuel P. *History of a Free People*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1965.

Brown, Richard C.; Lang, William C.; and Wheeler, Mary A. *The American Achievement*. New Jersey, Silver Burdett Company, 1966.

Canfield, Leon H. and Wilder, Howard B. *The Making of Modern America*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964.

Frost, James A.; Brown, Ralph Adams; Ellis, David N., and Fink, William B. *A History of the United States*. Chicago, Follett Educational Corporation, 1968.

Mary Cassatt
Artist

Self Portrait



Amelia Earhart
Aviatrix © Harris and Ewing



Marjorie Tallchief
Dancer



Social Education • March 1971

Graff, Henry E. and Krout, John A. **The Adventure of the American People**. Chicago, Rand McNally, 1959.

Hofstadter, Richard; Miller, William; and Aaron, Daniel. **The United States—The History of a Republic**. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957.

Kownslar, Allan O. and Frizzle, Donald B. **Discovering American History**, 2 Vols., New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964.

Noyes, H. M. and Harlow, Ralph Volney. **Story of America**. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964.

Todd, Lewis Paul and Curti, Merle. **Rise of the American Nation**, (1 Vol & 2 Vol. editions) New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966. 2 Vol. edition includes selected readings.

Williams, T. Harry and Wolf, Hazel C. **Our American Nation**. Ohio, Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966.

COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS

Hofstadter, Richard. **Great Issues in American History**, 2 Vols., New York, Vintage, 1958.

Meyers, Marvin; Kern, Alexander; and Carvelti, John G. **Sources of the American Republic**, 2 Vols., Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Company, 1961.

All entries indexed under "Women" were examined and various other sections and topics where information about women might reasonably be expected were examined. Particular attention was paid to women in colonial and revolutionary times, education, the women's rights movement and suffrage, reform movements, abolition, the Civil War, labor, frontier life, the World Wars, family patterns, the present position of women, and all sections on intellectual and cultural trends. The resulting picture is a depressing one.

Based on the information in these commonly-used high school texts, one might summarize the history

and contributions of the American woman as follows: Women arrived in 1619 (a curious choice if meant to be their first acquaintance with the new world). They held the Seneca Falls Convention on Women's Rights in 1848. During the rest of the nineteenth century, they participated in reform movements, chiefly temperance, and were exploited in factories. In 1923 they were given the vote. They joined the armed forces for the first time during the second World War and thereafter have enjoyed the good life in America. Add the names of the women who are invariably mentioned: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, Dorothea Dix, and Frances Perkins, with perhaps Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and, almost as frequently, Carry Nation, and you have the basic "text." There are variations, of course, and most texts have adequate sections of information on one topic, perhaps two, but close examination of the information presented reveals a curious pattern of inclusions and neglects, a pattern which presents the stereotyped picture of the American woman—passive, incapable of sustained organization or work, satisfied with her role in society, and well supplied with material blessings.

1. Revolutionary and Early Federal Periods

There is little information available in most texts concerning the colonial woman, or on her daughters and granddaughters in the revolutionary and early federal periods. The amount of information ranges from one textbook's two paragraphs on women's legal and social position to another textbook's total absence of anything even remotely pertaining to women during the early years of American history. Most texts fall in between. Some attention is com-

Maude Adams
Actress
Fowler



Marian Anderson
Singer



Emily Dickinson
Poet



Amy Vanderbilt
Authority on Etiquette



only paid to the legal disabilities inherited from English law, although one textbook limits itself to "tobacco brides" and a note about William Penn's wife. Usually, little is said about the consequences of the social, political, and legal disabilities of the colonial woman, although the sharp limitations of the nineteenth century and the exploitation of the working-class women in the early industrial age were a direct result of woman's lack of political influence and her gradual exclusion from "professional" and skilled jobs. The texts are especially sensitive to the problem of religious and clerical prejudices against women. The long opposition of most American religious groups to women's rights is almost never suggested.

The perfunctory notice taken of women's education in the early period is discussed below. It should be noted, however, that few texts take any note of sectional differences in women's education or in other aspects of the position of women.

Although a number of texts mention the high regard in which the colonial woman was held, few are named and only one gives much information about the amount of work done outside the home by colonial women. Women mentioned are Pocahontas and Anne Hutchinson. Sections on Pocahontas tend to favor discussion of such questions as "Did Pocahontas really save John Smith?", rather than on any information about her life or the lives of other Indian women. Anne Hutchinson is almost always subordinated to Roger Williams. In one book, for example, she is described as another exile from Massachusetts. In more generous texts, she may receive as much as a half paragraph.

In general, the treatment of the early periods in American history stresses the fact that the America of

the colonies, and early republic, was a "man world." The authors wax eloquent over the "new breed of men." Any doubt that this might be merely linguistic convention is soon removed. The colonial farmer is credited with producing his own food, flax and wool, in addition to preparing lumber for his buildings and leather goods for himself and his family. What the colonial farmer's wife (or the female colonial farmer) was doing all this time is not revealed, although plenty of information exists. Such passages also convey the unmistakable impression that all the early planters, farmers, and proprietors were male.

Education is important in consideration of the position of women because, as Julia Cherry Spruill points out in *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, lack of opportunities for education finally ended women's employment in a variety of areas as technology and science made true "professions" of such occupations as medicine. In the early days, women, despite stringent legal restrictions, participated in almost all activities save government, the ministry of most religions, and law (although the number who sued and brought court cases is notable).

Usually, if any notice at all is taken of the education of girls and women, it is limited to a bland note that ". . . girls were not admitted to college" or "Most Americans thought it unnecessary or even dangerous to educate women." These statements are presented without explanation. A mention of the existence of the dame schools completes the information on women and education.

After the colonial-revolutionary period, it is rare for more than one paragraph to be devoted to the en-

GEOGIA O'KEEFE
Artist



ISADORA DUNCAN
Dancer



DOROTHEA DIX
Reformer



tire development of education for women. Often, none of the early educators are mentioned by name. The facts that women literally fought their way into colleges and universities, that their admission followed agitation by determined would-be students, and that they were treated as subservient to male students even at such pioneering institutions as Oberlin, are always absent. The simple statement that they were admitted suffices.

2. Sections on Rights and Reforms

The most information about women appears in two sections, those on women's rights and suffrage and general sections on reform. Yet a full page on suffrage and women's rights is a rarity and most texts give the whole movement approximately three paragraphs. The better texts include something on the legal disabilities which persisted into the nineteenth century. These sections are sometimes good, but always brief. Most of them end their consideration of the legal position of women with the granting of suffrage, and there is no discussion of the implications of the recent Civil Rights legislation which removed some of the inequities in employment, nor is there more than a hint that inequities remained even after the nineteenth amendment was passed.

Leaders most commonly noted are Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott. Aside from passage of the nineteenth amendment, the only event noted is the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848. Even less space is devoted to the later suffrage movement. Anna Howard Shaw is seldom mentioned and even Carrie Chapman Catt is not assured of a place. The western leaders like Abigail Duniway are usually absent as are the more radical and mili-

tant suffragettes, the members of the Woman's Party. Alice Paul, leader of the militants, is apparently anathema.

This is perhaps not too surprising, as the tendency in most texts is to concentrate on the handicaps women faced and to minimize their efforts in their own behalf. One textbook, which dutifully lists Seneca Falls, Stanton, Mott, Wright, Anthony, Stone, and Bloomer, tells very little about what they did, noting "the demand for the right to vote made little headway, but the states gradually began to grant them more legal rights." The text mentions that by 1900 most discriminatory legislation was off the books and describes the post-Civil War work of the movement in these terms: "the women's rights movement continued under the leadership of the same group as before the war and met with considerable success." Later two lines on suffrage and a picture of a group of suffragettes complete the story. Lest this be considered the most glaring example of neglect, another textbook devotes two lines, one in each volume, to suffrage, mentioning in volume one that women were denied the right to vote and returning to the topic in volume two with one line on the nineteenth amendment in the middle of a synopsis of the twenties. This book actually includes more information on the lengths of women's skirts than on all the agitation for civil and political rights for women.

Other texts show a similar lack of enthusiasm for the hundred years of work that went into the nineteenth amendment. One places woman suffrage fifth in a section on the effects of the progressive movement. Catt, Anthony, and Stanton are mentioned in a line or two, while whole columns of text are devoted to Henry Demarest Lloyd and Henry George.

Ida M. Tarbell

Journalist, Muckraker *Author's Favorite Portrait Series*



Frances E. Willard
Prohibitionist, Social Reformer



Willa Cather
Writer
Photo by Nicholas Muray



At times there appears to be a very curious sense of priorities at work even in textbooks which give commendable amounts of information. One book uses up a whole column on the Gibson Girl, describing her as:

... completely feminine, and it was clear that she could not, or would not, defeat her male companion at golf or tennis. In the event of a motoring emergency, she would quickly call upon his superior knowledge . . .

The passage goes on to point out that this "transitional figure" was politically uninformed and devoted to her traditional role. One would almost prefer to learn a little more about the lives of those other "transitional figures," the feminists, yet there is almost no mention of their lives, their work, or their writings.

Only one text quotes any of the women's rights workers. It includes a short paragraph from the declaration of the Seneca Falls Convention. The absence in other texts of quotes and of documentary material is all the more striking, since a number of the leaders were known as fine orators and propagandists. Books of source materials, and inquiry method texts, are no exception; none of those examined considers woman suffrage worthy of a single document. One book is exceptional in including one selection, by Margaret Fuller, on the topic of women's rights.

The reformers and abolitionists are slightly more fortunate than the feminists. Three women are almost certain of appearing in history texts, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, and Dorothea Dix. Addams and Stowe are among the few women quoted in either source books or regular texts and, along with the muckraking journalist Ida Tarbell, they are the only women whose writings are regularly excerpted.

Addams and Dix are usually given at least one complete paragraph, perhaps more. These are sometimes admirably informative as in certain sections on Dix. Other reformers, including the women abolitionists, both white and black, are less fortunate. The pioneering Grimké sisters may rate a line or two, but just as often their only recognition comes because Angelina eventually became Mrs. Theodore Weld. None of the female abolitionists, despite their temporary reputations as speakers, is ever quoted. Interest in Black history has not made room for more than the briefest mention of Harriet Tubman, whose Civil War services are deleted. Sojourner Truth and the other black lecturers, educators, and abolitionists are completely absent. The texts make little comment about the nineteenth century's intense disapproval of women who spoke in public, or of the churches' opposition (excepting always the Quakers, from whose faith many of the early abolitionists came).

Women journalists are given even less notice than the early lecturers. The women who ran or contributed to newspapers, periodicals, or specialized journals and papers for abolition, women's rights, or general reform are rarely included.

The reform sections of these high school texts frequently show the same kind of capriciousness that in sections on the twenties assigns more space to the flapper than to the suffragette. In discussions on reform movements, they give more prominence to Carry Nation than to other more serious, not to say more stable, reformers. The treatment of temperance is further marred by a failure to put women's espousal of temperance in perspective. Little stress is placed on the consequences for the family of an alcoholic in

Gladys Swarthout
Singer

Nelson



Helen A. Whiting
Educator

Betsy Graves, Artist

Carrie Chapman Catt
Suffragette



the days when divorce was rare, when custody of children went to their father, and when working women were despised. Nor is there much mention of the seriousness of the problem of alcoholism, particularly in the post-Civil war period.

3. Neglected Areas

The most glaring omission, considering its impact on women and on society, is the absence of a single word on the development of birth control and the story of the fight for its acceptance by Margaret Sanger and a group of courageous physicians. The authors' almost Victorian delicacy in the face of the matter probably stems from the fact that birth control is still controversial. Yet fear of controversy does not seem a satisfactory excuse. The population explosion, poverty, illegitimacy—all are major problems today. Birth control is inextricably tied up with them as well as with disease, abortion, child abuse, and family problems of every kind. Considering the revolution in the lives of women which safe methods of contraception have caused, and the social, cultural, and political implications of that revolution, it appears that one important fact of the reform movement is being neglected.

A second, largely neglected area is the whole question of woman's work and her part in the early labor movement. Although the American woman and her children were the mainstays of many of the early industries, for a variety of social and political reasons she received low wages and status and was virtually cut off from any hopes of advancement. The educational limitations that gradually forced her out of a number of occupations which she had held in pre-industrial days combined with prejudice to keep her in

the lowest paid work. Whether single, married, or widowed, whether she worked for "pin money" or to support six children, she received about half as much as a man doing the same or comparable work.

Obviously under these conditions, women had exceptional difficulties in organizing. Among them were the dual burden of household responsibilities and work, their lack of funds, and in some cases their lack of control over their own earnings, and the opposition of male workers and of most of the unions.

Despite these special circumstances, very little attention is paid to the plight of the woman worker or of her admittedly unstable labor organizations. Information on the early labor leaders is especially scanty; one textbook is unique with its biographical information on Rose Schneiderman. On the whole, the labor story is limited to the introduction of women workers into the textile mills in the 1840's. As a caption in one book so concisely puts it, "Women and children, more manageable, replaced men at the machines." Others note the extremely low pay of women and children, one text calling women "among the most exploited workers in America." Anything like a complete discussion of the factors which led to these conditions, or even a clear picture of what it meant to be "among the most exploited," is not found in the texts.

Several things about women and labor are included. Lowell mills receive a short, usually complimentary, description. The fact that the Knights of Labor admitted women is presented. There then follows a hiatus until minimum wage and maximum hour standards for women workers are discussed. The modern implications of this "protective legislation" is an area seldom explored.

Helen Hayes
Actress

Helen Keller
Humanitarian

Courtesy of Doubleday, Page & Co.

Carry Nation
Prohibitionist



Despite the fact that abundant source material exists, the sections on labor follow the familiar pattern: little space is devoted to women workers, few women are mentioned by name, and fewer still are quoted. Most texts content themselves with no more than three entries of a few lines each.

The absence of information on the lives of women on the frontier farms and settlements is less surprising. In the treatments of pioneer settlements from the colonial era on, most texts declare the frontier "a man's world." This is emphasized by the importance the authors place on descriptions and histories of such masculine tools as the Pennsylvania rifle and the ax, the six-shooter, and the prairie-breaker plow. One textbook is perhaps the most enthralled with these instruments, devoting five pages to the story of the six-shooter. Scarcely five lines is spent on the life of the frontier woman in this text, and most other works are also reticent about the pioneer woman.

Only "man's work" on the frontier is really considered worthy of description. This is particularly puzzling, since there was little distinction in employment, and marriage was a partnership with lots of hard work done by each of the partners. On pioneer farms, typical "woman's work" included, in addition to all the housework, the care of poultry; the dairy—including milking, feeding, tending to the cows, and making butter and cheese; the care of any other barnyard animals; the "kitchen" or vegetable garden; and such chores as sewing, mending, making candles and soap, feeding the hired hands, and working in the fields if necessary.

Considering these chores, it is hard to see why discussions of pioneer farming content themselves with descriptions of the farmer's struggles to plow, plant,

and harvest. The treatments of the frontier period also omit mention of the women who homesteaded and claimed property without the help of a male partner. According to Robert W. Smuts in *Women and Work in America*, there were thousands of such women. Information about the women on the frontier tends either to short descriptions of the miseries of life on the great plains frequently quoted from Hamlin Garland or to unspecific encomiums on the virtues of the pioneer woman. One text states:

... [the women] turned the wilderness into homesteads, planted flowers and put curtains in the windows. It was usually the mothers and school teachers who transmitted to the next generation the heritage of the past.

The relationship between women's exertions on the frontier and their enlarged civil and political liberties in the Western states and territories is often noticed. Their agitation for these increased privileges is generally unmentioned.

With little said about women's life in general, it is not surprising that few are mentioned by name. Sacajawea, the Indian guide and interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, shares with Dix, Stowe, and Addams, one of the few solid positions in United States history texts. Occasionally the early missionaries to Oregon territory, like Nerissa Whitman and Eliza Spaulding, are included, and one book even adds a "profile" of Nerissa Whitman. Most, however, only mention the male missionaries, or include the fact that they arrived with their wives.

4. Civil War Period

Like the frontier experience, the Civil War forced women from all social strata into new tasks and occu-

Ruth St. Denis
Dancer

Louisa May Alcott
Writer



pations. In *Bonnet Brigades*, a volume in the *Impact of the Civil War Series*, Mary Elizabeth Massey quotes Clara Barton's remark that the war advanced the position of women by some fifty years. Great numbers of women dislocated by the war were forced into paid employment. The war saw the entry of women into government service, into nursing, and into the multitude of organizations designed to raise money and supplies for the armies, to make clothing, blankets, and bandages. The result of this activity was not only to force individual women outside of their accustomed roles, but to provide the experience in organization which was to prove valuable for later suffrage and reform movements. The war helped a number of women escape from the ideas of gentility which were robbing women in the East of much of their traditional social freedom, and brought women of all classes into the "man's world." In addition to the few women who served as soldiers, women appeared in the camps as nurses, cooks, laundresses, adventurers; they served in the field as spies, scouts, saboteurs, and guides; they worked in the capitals as the "government girls"—the first female clerks, bookkeepers, and secretaries. Women opened hospitals, set up canteens, and developed the first primitive forms of what we know as USO clubs and services. After the war, they served as pension claims agents, worked to rehabilitate soldiers, taught in the freedman's schools, entered refugee work, or tried to find missing soldiers and soldiers' graves.

Of all these activities, women's entry into nursing is the only one regularly noticed in the texts. The impact of the war upon women, and upon the family structure, is barely mentioned, although a few texts include a paragraph or two on the hardships which women faced during the conflict. The only women mentioned by name are Clara Barton and Dorothea Dix, who held the position of superintendent of women nurses. Other women, like Mary Bickerdyke, who was known both for her efforts during the war and for her work for needy veterans afterwards, are omitted. No other women, black or white, are named, nor is there any information on the variety of jobs they held. The special problems of black women in the post-war period rarely get more than a line, and the efforts by black women to set up schools and self-help agencies are omitted.

5. The Two World Wars

While women in the Civil War era receive little attention, even less is given to them during the two World Wars. In both cases, their wartime service is

glowingly praised, but few details are presented. At least half of the texts examined make no note at all of women's wartime activities during the first World War; in a number of others, the story of women's entry into what were formerly labeled "men's jobs" is dealt with in a captioned picture.

As far as social changes between the wars, a number of texts devote several paragraphs to the "liberation of women" and to their changing status. In one textbook there are four paragraphs devoted to these liberated ladies—the only two mentioned being Irene Castle and Alice Roosevelt. Like other texts, this one devotes a considerable amount of space to fashions and flappers and to the social alarm which they occasioned.

There is little about the later stages of the rights' movement, although two textbooks note the relationship between women's wartime service and the increasing willingness of the nation to grant rights and privileges to women. One limits itself to three sentences, noting women's work "in factories and fields" and their efforts behind the lines overseas. "Women's reward for war service was the Nineteenth Amendment which granted them the franchise on the eve of the 1920 election." Readers might wish for greater elaboration.

The period from the depression to the present day receives the same laconic treatment in the texts. The one woman sure of notice in this period is Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor. She receives at least a line in most texts and some devote special sections to her. Frances Perkins appears to be the "showcase" woman, for no other American woman is regularly mentioned—this includes Eleanor Roosevelt, who is omitted from a surprising number of texts and who is mentioned only as Roosevelt's wife in quite a few more.

The World War II era marked the beginning of the Women's Military Corps. This fact is invariably mentioned, usually with a captioned picture as an accompaniment. As in World War I, women entered factories, munitions plants, and "men's jobs" in great numbers. This development rarely gets more than a paragraph and the differences between the experience in World War I and the longer exposure to new jobs in World War II are seldom elucidated. The impact of the war on women and specific information about the variety of jobs they held is sketchy or non-existent.

Information on women in the post-war era and in the present day is hardly more abundant. The history texts definitely give the impression that the pas-

sage of the nineteenth amendment solved all the problems created by the traditional social, legal, and political position of women. Contemporary information on discrimination is conspicuously absent. The texts are silent on current legal challenges to such practices as discriminatory hiring and promotion and companies' failures to comply with equal pay legislation. They do not take account of agitation to change laws and customs which weigh more heavily on women than on men. There is nothing about recent changes in jury selection, hitherto biased against women jurors, or reform of discriminatory practices in criminal sentences; there is no information on the complex problems of equitable divorce and guardianship, nor on the tangled problem of separate domicile for married women.

A number of texts do, however, provide good information on changes in the structure of the family, or provide helpful information on general social and political changes. The impression, insofar as these sections deal directly with American women, is a rosy picture of the affluence and opportunities enjoyed by women. Many books note the increasing numbers of women employed in the learned professions, but never the percentage decline in their numbers. While women undoubtedly enjoy more rights, opportunities, and freedoms than in many previous eras, the texts give an excessively complacent picture of a complex and rapidly changing set of social conditions.

6. Intellectual and Cultural Achievements

A final glimpse of the position of the American woman may be gained from sections dealing with intellectual and cultural trends and achievements. Since most texts extol the role of women in preserving culture and in supporting the arts, one might expect women to be well-represented in discussions of

the arts in America. A number of factors, however, operate against the inclusion of creative women. The first, and one which deprives many creative men of notice as well, is the extreme superficiality of most of these discussions. Intellectual and cultural life in America is limited to the mention of a few novelists and poets, with an occasional musician or playwright. Only a few individuals in each category are ever mentioned, and the preference for male examples and spokesmen, noticeable in all other topics, is evident here as well. In individual texts, this leads to such glaring omissions as Emily Dickinson and Margaret Fuller. To be fair, the text guilty of ignoring Miss Dickinson appears to feel that John Greenleaf Whittier was one of our greatest poets, yet ignorance of American poetry is hardly an acceptable excuse.

Dickinson and Fuller, however, are among the small, fortunate circle including Harriet Beecher Stowe, Willa Cather, and Margaret Mitchell who are usually named. The principles governing their selection and decreeing the omission of other writers like Edith Wharton, Ellen Glasgow, Eudora Welty, and Pearl Buck are never explained. Apparently their presence or absence is determined by the same caprice which decrees Edna St. Vincent Millay the only modern female poet.

Only a handful of texts discuss painters and sculptors, but of those that do make some effort to include the visual arts, only one reproduces a painting by Mary Cassatt. Georgia O'Keeffe is also represented in this text. Other texts, even when including Cassatt's fellow expatriates, Sargent and Whistler, omit her—an exclusion inexplicable on grounds of quality, popularity, or representation in American collections. Contemporary art is totally ignored and everything after the Ashcan School is left in limbo. This omits many painters of quality and influence, including the

Barbara Morgan

Martha Graham
Dancer



many women who have entered the arts in the twentieth century.

More serious than the sketchy treatment given to the arts covered by the texts is the omission of arts in which women were dominant or in which they played a major part. Dance is never given as much as a line. This leaves out the American ballerinas, and, even more important, it neglects the development of modern dance—a development due to the talents of a handful of American women like Isadora Duncan, Martha Graham, and Ruth St. Denis.

There is a similar neglect of both stage and screen acting. If film or drama are to be mentioned at all, directors and writers will be noted. It hardly seems necessary to point out that acting is an area in which women have excelled.

Music sees a similar division with similar results. Composers and instrumentalists, chiefly men, are mentioned. Singers, men and women, are omitted. This particularly affects black women. Only one textbook mentions Marian Anderson and Leontyne Price. White classical singers are ignored as are the black women jazz singers.

If intellectual and cultural developments are limited to areas in which men were the dominant creative figures, it is obvious that American women will not receive credit for their contributions. It also seems clear that such superficial accounts of the arts are of questionable value.

Summing Up

Although it is tempting to imagine some historical autocrat sternly decreeing who's in and who's out—giving space to Harriet Beecher Stowe but not to Marianne Moore; to Dorothea Dix but not Mary Bickerdyke; to Pocahontas but not Margaret Brent; to Susan B. Anthony but not Abigail Duniway—the omission of many significant women is probably not a sign of intentional bias. The treatment of women simply reflects the attitudes and prejudices of society. Male activities in our society are considered the more important; therefore male activities are given primacy in the texts. There is a definite image of women in our society, and women in history who conform to this image are more apt to be included. History reflects societal attitudes in all topics, hence the omission of potentially controversial persons like Margaret Sanger or that militant pioneer in civil disobedience, Alice Paul. Sensitivity to social pressure probably accounts for the very gentle notes about religious disapproval of women's full participation in community life and for omission of contemporary controver-

sies, especially on sexual matters, which would offend religious sensibilities.

Another factor which affects the picture of women presented in these texts is the linguistic habit of using the male pronouns to refer both to men and to men and women. While this may seem a trivial matter it frequently leads to misunderstanding. Discussing the early colonists, for example, solely in terms of "he" and "his" leads to the implication that all early proprietors, settlers, planters, and farmers were men. Given the cultural orientation of our society, students will assume activities were only carried on by men unless there is specific mention of women.

To these observations, authors of high school texts might reasonably respond that their space is limited, that they seek out only the most significant material and the most influential events and individuals; that if dance is omitted, it is because more people read novels, and if such topics as the role of female missionaries or colonial politicians are neglected, it is for lack of space. One is less inclined to accept this view when one notices some of the odd things which authors do manage to include. One feels like asking, "How important was Shays's Rebellion?". Should the Ku Klux Klan receive reams of documentary material and woman suffrage none? Do we want to read five pages on the six-shooter? Is two columns too much to give to Empress Carlotta of Mexico, who lived most of her life in insanity and obscurity? Is the aerialist who walked a tightrope across Niagara Falls a figure of even minor importance in American History? Is Henry Demarest Lloyd more important than Carrie Chapman Catt? Are the lengths of skirts significant enough to dwarf other information about women?

There are other questions as well: How accurate is the history text's view of women and what images of women does it present? The texts examined do very little more than reinforce the familiar stereotypes.

It should be clear, however, that changes in the construction of high-school-level history texts must go beyond the insertion of the names of prominent women and even beyond the "profiles" and "special sections" employed by the more liberal texts. Commendable and informative as these may be, they are only the beginning. Real change in the way history is presented will only come after those responsible for writing it, and for interpreting the finished product to students, develop an awareness of the bias against women in our culture, a bias so smooth, seamless, and pervasive, that it is hard to even begin to take hold of it and bring it into clear view. Until this

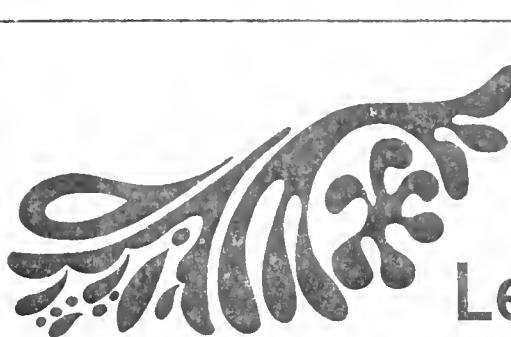
a look at the other end of the spectrum. The aged are one of the largest, most neglected minority groups in this country, and the world. The problems of the aged, and intergenerational conflict both seem to be on the rise. Teachers interested in developing a program or unit around this theme should consider the September/October 1970 (Vol. 14, No. 1) edition of the *American Behavioral Scientist* for resource material (annotated by ERIC/ChESS for inclusion in CIJE). The issue is devoted to "Aging in Contemporary Society." It includes 11 articles dealing with various aspects of aging including: societal relations; family relations; social relations; economic, political, and social problems; and the aged in other countries. The authors of these articles take a close look at retirement, widowhood, isolation, income, involvement, and integration among the elderly. The aged are a large enough group to directly and indirectly cause a great many problems for the governments of the world, if their concerns are largely ignored.

Area Studies: Lenin and Soviet Education

Area studies teachers may be particularly interested in the January-February-March, 1970 (Vol. XII, No. 3-4-5) edition of *Soviet Education* (annotated by ERIC/ChESS for inclusion in CIJE). It is the Lenin Centennial Issue. Although the issue contains considerable Soviet propaganda, it offers many insights into Russian life and education. The 14 articles are generally aimed at preparation for the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. These articles offer good resource material for teachers dealing with the U.S.S.R. and Soviet life.

* * * *

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Lessons in Life

Teacher's Handbook for Elementary Social Studies, Second Edition

by the late Hilda Taba, and Mary Durkin, Jack R. Fraenkel, San Francisco State College, and Anthony H. McNaughtan, The University of Auckland New Zealand

In answer to the need for an expanded social studies curriculum, the authors suggest various ways of broadening the content to include sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science and philosophy, as well as history and geography. The contents of this second edition—the charts and examples in particular—have been thoroughly updated. A new introduction and chapters on questioning and evaluation have been added.

March/April 1971

Teaching Social Studies to Culturally Different Children

edited by James A. Banks, University of Washington, and William W. Joyce, Michigan State University

This book is designed to equip teachers with the knowledge, perceptions, attitudes and teaching strategies needed to make social studies relevant and exciting for children who come from diverse cultural backgrounds.

336 pp., paperbound (1971)

Teaching the Language Arts to Culturally Different Children

edited by William W. Joyce, Michigan State University, and James A. Banks, University of Washington

A wide variety of instructional approaches is described in this collection of articles, and the problems and issues of race, ethnicity and prejudice are explored. The book also includes discussions of the factors of learning, intellectual honesty in instructional materials, and language learning and alternative dialects.

February/March 1971

A Social Psychology of Education

by Alan E. Guskin, University of Michigan, and Samuel L. Guskin, Indiana University

Some of the relevant principles and findings of social psychology are linked in this book with the critical issues in education today.

Paperbound, 211 pp (1970) \$2.95

Education and the Political System

by Byron G. Massialas, University of Michigan

This book attempts to establish the relationship between the political life of a nation and education.

Paperbound, 219 pp (1969) \$3.50

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WOMEN IN U.S. HISTORY HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

(Continued from page 260)

awareness is developed, until the unquestioned dominance of male activities and the importance of male spokesmen and examples is realized, texts will continue to treat men's activities and goals as history, women's as "supplementary material."

One sees this quite clearly in the existence of sections dealing with women's rights, women's problems, and women's position, as if women's rights, problems, and position were not simply one half of the rights, problems, and position of humanity as a whole, and as if changes in women's position and work and attitudes were not complemented by changes in the position, work, and attitudes of men. A sense of the way the lives and duties and achievements of people of both sexes is intermeshed is needed in expositions of life in all periods of American history.

To do this it is clear that material hitherto omitted or minimized must be given more consideration. For example, information about mortality rates, family size, and economic conditions must be included, along with more information on the impact of technological change, on the mass media, and on moral

and religious ideas. More information about how ordinary people lived and what they actually did must be included as well as information drawn from the ideas and theories of the educated classes.

This is not to deny that certain developments have had far more effect on women than on men, or that women's experience might be different from men's; for example, the early struggles to form unions. Nor is it to deny that more information on women leaders is needed and more space for their particular problems and achievements. More information on all aspects of women's life, work, and position—legal, social, religious, and political—is needed, but more information alone, no matter how necessary, will not really change histories. What is needed, besides more information, is a new attitude: one which breaks away from the bias of traditional views of women and their "place" and attempts to treat both women and men as partners in their society; one which does not automatically value activities by the sex performing them; and one which does not relate history from the viewpoint of only half of the human family.



MODEL FOR TEACHING

MARCH 1976

A COMPONENT OF THE CROFT-NEI TEACHER'S SERVICE

TOPIC: Propaganda

SKILL: Analysis

Rewriting History (Herstory?) To Include Women

This Model will help students resurrect important women who have made contributions to American history that textbooks often ignore, or worse, ridicule.

Performance Objectives

Through research and skits, students will learn about unrecognized historical figures, and at the same time will develop caution about regarding textbooks as a major or sole source for historical investigation.

Preassessment

In informal discussion, elicit from students ideas about why some people are more famous than others. This should lead to a discussion of whose point of view history books have been written from and which people have been chosen by historians to be remembered. You might also point out how that remembrance is reinforced by assembly programs, celebrations, and holidays from school. Ask students if they can name important women in American history. Avoid saying "famous" so that students don't think you mean fictional or fictionalized figures. You might ask leading questions such as "What about the women who worked to free the slaves?" (Harriet Tubman on the Underground Railroad and Harriet Beecher Stowe with her novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) "Do you know the names of any women who worked to change the Constitution so that women could vote? (Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone). In line with taking women's contributions seriously, use the word "suffragist" instead of the diminutive, "suffragette," which was used disparagingly.

Teaching Strategies

Materials: Obtain from a library *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, a biographical dictionary in three volumes by Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer (Belknap Press, Harvard, 1971). One oaktag strip cut to 3 inches by 11 inches and one

12-inch length of string for each student to make a sign to hand around his or her neck, identifying the person he or she will portray. Have on hand material for costumes and props.

Allow students to choose a subject for their research or assign each person one from one of the following lists. Boys should not be exempt from this unit because the point of it is to show that women's contributions to history, though sometimes different from men's, are as significant.

I. Women in Politics

All of the following women had an influence—not always immediately felt—on the nature of our country:

1. Abigail Adams	5. Prudence Crandall
2. Elizabeth Cady Stanton	6. Harriet Tubman
3. Lucy Stone	7. Sojourner Truth
4. Phillis Wheatley	8. Jeanette Rankin

Working with students individually or in pairs, read to them the appropriate entry in *Notable American Women*. Help them draw out information that made their subject important. You can prepare a readable abstract in advance from which students can gain important information. Have students write about their subject in script form as a first-person narrative. For example: "My name is Abigail Adams. I lived from 1744 to 1818. My husband was John Adams, our second President. When he was writing the Declaration of Independence, I asked him to 'remember the ladies' and be sure we would have the same rights and freedoms men were to have. But he was not able to influence the other founders of our country and we women had to wait more than a hundred years to vote, and in 1976 we still don't have our equal rights defended by the Constitution."

This exercise becomes more interesting if you have historical figures interact with one another. For example, Abigail Adams introduces the issue of women's

right to vote and Elizabeth Cady Stanton takes it up by describing how she was not permitted to sit with the men at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, making her see that women and slaves had much in common. Lucy Stone then describes how her father would not help her if she went to college, but she saved up her own money and graduated from Oberlin College in Ohio. From this experience she decided to work for women's rights and joined Stanton in 1848 for a convention in Seneca Falls, New York, where women wrote their own "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions," based on the Declaration of Independence. Phillis Wheatley joins in saying that even though she was a slave, she learned how to read and write and became the first American poet to have her work published. Prudence Crandall then steps in to tell the story of how she brought a black girl into her school in Canterbury, Connecticut, but that the people of the town objected to educating a black person and destroyed the school. Harriet Tubman then tells how she fought against slavery in a different way: on the Underground Railroad. She tells about the many times she brought slaves from the South to freedom in the North and how she worked in hospitals and as an enemy scout in the Civil War during which slaves were freed but after which only black males obtained the right to vote. Sojourner Truth relates experiences of prejudice against her as a black woman. She was freed long before the Civil War and travelled around the country speaking against slavery and for women's and black's rights. Jeanette Rankin can conclude the segment on a triumphant note by pointing out how she was the first woman elected to Congress (in 1917)—but it was before women across the United States could vote! In her state, Montana, women could vote in state elections even though the nation's constitutional amendment was three years away.

Not covered by *Notable American Women* are women who have become famous since 1950. Modern counterparts for the women in this group can be found to discuss similarities and changes over the years: Eleanor Roosevelt can discuss being an active First Lady with Abigail Adams, Betty Friedan can discuss being a political activist and a mother with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Gloria Steinem can discuss what being a liberated woman means with Lucy Stone (who retained her own name in marriage and who along with her husband at their marriage read a statement on the status of women), poets Nikki Giovanni and Phillis Wheatley can talk about growing up black and expressing it in poetry (provide some examples to read), Mattina Horner (president of Radcliffe College) and Prudence Crandall can compare the advances and limitations of education for women, Rosa Parks (who fought to desegregate buses in 1955; see *Ms.* magazine, August

1974) and Harriet Tubman can discuss direct action as a means of obtaining freedoms for black people. Shirley Chisholm and Sojourner Truth can exchange opinions on what form political action should take, and Ella Grasso (governor of Connecticut) can talk with Jeanette Rankin about their political "firsts."

II. Bicentennial Women

Another group of students can work with women important in the Revolutionary War:

1. Margaret Cochran Corbin	3. Jane McCrea
2. "Molly Pitcher" or Mary McCauley	4. Deborah Sampson 5. Nancy Ward

Each of these women can tell of an incident during the War in which they acted heroically. This group might want to act out their parts.

III. Getting History Straight

Sometimes unconventional women are ridiculed in history books, thus obscuring their real significance. The reverse also happens, especially in historical fiction where some women are glorified way out of proportion to their actual contribution. Entries regarding the women in this group in *Notable American Women* have been thoroughly researched, and the authors distinguish fact from fiction. This section is best used with more sophisticated students:

1. Pocahontas	3. "Calamity Jane" (Martha Burk)
2. Amelia Bloomer	4. Annie Oakley

Students should work in pairs, one telling the legend and the other providing facts about their subject. Provide students with the *Notable American Women* summary, simplified if necessary, and have them write out their parts in first-person. In some cases summaries may be supplemented by, and contrasted with, the more sensational stories in fiction, folk tale, and comics.

Postassessment

Propose a "Discoverer's Day" celebration and suggest women in history who have made important discoveries, and whom the students themselves have "discovered." Areas such as scientific research, social work, and political action should not be overlooked. A variation is "Pioneer's Day" or "First Woman Day" to honor, for example, the first woman to practice medicine in the United States (Elizabeth Blackwell), the first woman admitted to the bar (Arabella Mansfield), the first woman ordained as a minister (Antoinette Brown), the first woman elected to Congress (Jeanette Rankin), the first woman dentist (Lucy Hobbs Taylor), and the first woman astronomer (Maria Mitchell).

Set aside a class period, or a whole day if possible, to honor the woman the students have voted on.

TEACHING THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN HISTORY

by Elizabeth D. Pearson

(Extracted from NCSS 1973 YEARBOOK, TEACHING LITERACY STUDIES,)

MAIN IDEA

A. The changing image and role of women in American society has been revealed through the communications media of the times.

1. Television commercials are a powerful means of creating an image. Ask students to watch television for two hours during a weekday morning or afternoon. They should make a record of each commercial they see indicating the item advertised, the persons in the commercial (child, mother, father, single person, etc.), and a characterization of women in each commercial. (For instance housewife, career woman, woman interested in beauty, etc.) Ask students to compare their data and make a general statement about the treatment of women in commercials.
2. The same data can be collected from magazine advertisements. Divide the class into groups according to the content of the magazines. For example, one group could focus on women's magazines, another on men's magazines such as Fishing and Playboy, and another on news magazines such as Newsweek, Time and Playboy. An example of a data retrieval chart to organize the data follows.

WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

	Item Advertised	Persons in Advertisement	Characterization of Woman
McCall's			
Seventeen			
Woman's Day			
Cosmopolitan			

Ask students to develop generalizations about the treatment of women in advertisements in women's and men's magazines, and news magazines. Then have them compare treatments to see if they can generalize about the relationship between the image of women and all advertisements.

3. To enlarge the view for younger students of the broadening opportunities for women in contemporary society along with achievements of women in America past, ask students to name well-known women. List them on the board. Then ask students to group the names according to their own designations. They may develop categories such as women pioneers, scientists, women from the past and present, women who came upon their achievement after great hardships. Students may then be interested in reading about a woman with whom they are not familiar. Perusing an anthology may be an easy way for students to find a woman about whom they might be interested in reading at greater length. Heroines of the Early West, a Landmark book by Nancy Wilson Ross, They Showed the Way: Forty American Negro Leaders by Charlemee Hill Rollins, and Famous American Pioneering Women by Edna Yost are some useful introductory anthologies.

After students have done further reading, bring the class together and again have students list the women about whom they have read. Ask them to categorize the names according to when they lived. Fifty-year time periods would be sufficient. Then discuss whether or not opportunities for women have expanded since the early days of the United States.

MAIN IDEA:

B. The number of women working outside the home has tended to depend on the amount of time the woman has had to spend at home as wife and mother.

1. To focus on the changing role of a woman's work, ask students to find statistics on the number of married women, single women and mothers over the last 150 years. Statistics for every thirty years would provide sufficient intervals. They should also find the number of women who were working out of the home during that period. Ask them to look at the change in statistics taking into consideration the total population of women. They then can try to explain the changes in the context of the historical periods represented.
2. Present to students a statement by an advocate of women's rights, an unemployed female head of household and an unemployed male head of household recommending their priorities in hiring people for jobs.

Ask students to state the problem which is posed in the statements they have read. Divide the class into three groups:

- a. Representing the advocate of women's rights.
- b. Representing the unemployed female head of household.
- c. Representing the unemployed male of household.

Then ask these questions:

- a. What does each person whose statement is represented think is most important about assigning job priorities?
- b. How do their values differ?
- c. What are some other values which each person could have chosen?
- d. What would have been the consequences of each of their choices?
- e. What choice would you have made if you were:
 - (1) an advocate of women's rights?
 - (2) an unemployed female head of household?
 - (3) an unemployed male head of household?
- f. How would you feel about your choice?

Teachers might wish to extend this study in values by opening up to more thorough study the subject of employment policies of private business and government. A survey of the unemployment rate indicating how many women and men are unemployed along with the largest groups of workers who are jobless could be included. The whole question of how jobs should be provided and on what priorities their assignment should be based could be a major thrust in the study of job opportunities.

3. Inventions which have taken over some of the work in the home have made it easier for women to work outside the home. Have students list all the inventions that have taken over duties which had to be done at home. Have them research the dates of these inventions. Ask them:

- a. What is the effect of each on a housewife's work?
- b. Is there a relationship between the number and quality of home conveniences and the percentage of women who work outside the home during different historical periods?

MAIN IDEAS

C. In American history, women have been subject to many kinds of discrimination.

1. To focus on job discrimination, ask a small group of students to gather statistics on the number of women employed as secretaries, public school teachers and administrators, college and university teachers, factory workers, lawyers and doctors in your state in 1925 and 1970. Have them compare with the number of men in each of those fields. Then ask:
 - a. Which professions have a high concentration of women?
 - b. What changes have occurred over a forty-five year period in the employment of women?
 - c. How do you explain the change or lack of change in employment of women?
2. Ask students to compare Want Ads in newspapers of the 1920's or 1930's with Want Ads in current newspapers. They should make a chart for each of the two newspapers compared, indicating what jobs were advertised for women only, and for both sexes. Have them explain any differences they find in terms of the historical setting of the earlier year compared to contemporary America. Ask another group to find out what state and federal laws say about discrimination in advertising for jobs and use this information to help explain the data.
3. Ask a student to read a history of the woman's suffrage movement such as Women Suffrage and Politics by Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler. Both of these women were very prominent in passing the amendment giving women the vote. The student can then give a report on the kinds of discrimination Catt and Shuler report that people in the suffrage movement encountered. An interesting comparison might be made if another student read a history of the woman's suffrage movement written twenty or more years after the women's vote was accomplished. One such book might be Century of Struggle by Eleanor Flexner.

After a report to the class on the second book, a class discussion can be held focusing on the following questions:

- a. What portrayal of the opposition to woman suffrage did each book give?
- b. What expectations of the results of woman suffrage did each book focus upon?
- c. What events did the authors of both books view as the most important in achieving the passage of the suffrage amendment?
- d. If there were differences, why?
- e. What differences in the content of each book and the interpretation of that content resulted from the backgrounds of the authors?

WOMEN: PAST AND PRESENT

A SECONDARY AMERICAN HISTORY COURSE
WITH SEPARATE SECTIONS ON
CHRONOLOGY AND TOPIC STUDY.

Researched and written by Sharon Johnson
Magic City Campus
Minot, North Dakota 58701

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AUGUST 1975

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CR-F

QUESTIONNAIRE ON OUR AMERICAN PAST

1. Make a list of the three most famous men and women in American History. Fill in after each name what he or she is famous for.

2. List at least 10 of the most important events or achievements in American History.

Write MEN after the ones that men played a major role in.
Write WOMEN after the ones that women played a major role in.

3. What were the wives, sisters and mothers of the men above doing while they were achieving these things?

What were the fathers, brothers, husbands of the women above doing while they were achieving whatever they achieved?

4. Imagine and describe a typical day of a man and a typical day of a woman during any period of history.

CR-D

WHO AM I?

1. I was a black escaped slave who led over 200 slaves to freedom on the Underground Railroad before the Civil War. I am _____.
2. I was a close friend of Susan B. Anthony. I began my efforts in Women's Rights at Seneca Falls in 1848 and was a leader in the movement until the 1890's. _____.
3. I was a Puritan who was banished from Massachusetts Bay Colony for my religious "heresy" and for my questioning of woman's place. _____.
4. I was the first female doctor in the United States. _____.
5. I was the first woman to run for the Presidency (1872). To make matters worse, I was accused of advocating "free love"! _____.
6. I was responsible for the "winning plan" in the 1910's that finally led to the passage of the Suffrage Amendment. I am _____.
7. I was one of the few female American poets. I was largely unrecognized during my lifetime. I was extremely shy, rarely did I venture beyond my garden gate. _____.
8. I was known as the lady with the hatchet because I was known to chop up a saloon in one of my fits of anger against the demon alcohol. _____.
9. I fought for many years for the right of women to control their reproduction. Many times I went to jail for handing out information on birth control or opening a clinic. _____.
10. I am credited with the beginning of the present Women's Movement because of a book I wrote about women in the 1950's and early 60's called the Feminine Mystique. I also founded the organization N.O.W. _____.

All of the women were pioneers in the struggle for women's equality. Match each of them with her major accomplishment.

a. Margaret Sanger	e. Victoria Woodhull
b. Mary Wollstonecraft	f. Simone de Beauvoir
c. Betty Friedan	g. Emma Goldman
d. Margaret Fuller	h. Mary Lyon
i. Elizabeth Cady Stanton	

1. Wrote Vindication of the Rights of Women in 1792.

2. Ran for President of the United States in 1872.

3. Founded the women's rights movement in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York.

4. Founded Mount Holyoke, the first college for women in the United States in 1837.

5. Was a radical who spoke out fearlessly against political and social injustice in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

6. Founder of the National Organization for Women.

7. Dedicated her life to the birth control movement.

8. Wrote Woman in the Nineteenth Century in 1845.

9. Wrote The Second Sex in 1949.

10. If you decide to keep your maiden name after marriage, you can be said to be a disciple of:
 a. Alix Kates Shulman
 b. Gloria Steinem
 c. Lucy Stone
 d. Susan B. Anthony

11. The first woman to be elected to the United States Senate was:
 a. Margaret Chase Smith, Maine 1948
 b. Hattie Caraway, Arkansas 1932
 c. Frances Perkins, Massachusetts 1932
 d. Helen Gahagan Douglas, California 1944
 e. Suzanne LaFollette, New York 1920

12. The first woman to orbit the earth was:
 a. Nona Gaprindashvili
 b. Nadezhda Mandelstam
 c. Amelia Earhart
 d. Valentina Tereshkova
 e. Natasha Postova

Each of these women was the power behind a famous ruler. Can you match the woman with the leader whose companion, advisor or mistress she was?

13. Adolph Hitler	a. Missy LeHand
14. Louis XV of France	b. Eva Braun
15. Edward VII of England	c. Pompadour
16. Napoleon I	d. Walewska
17. Franklin D. Roosevelt	e. Sarah Bernhardt

SOME OF THE FOLLOWING HAVE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER

18. The cotton gin was invented by
 a. Eli Whitney
 b. Catherine Greene
 c. Catherine Greene and Eli Whitney

_____ 19. Negroes were granted the right to vote 50 years before women were. True or False

_____ 20. One of the major sources of Hitler's electoral support in the period 1930 to 1933 was recently enfranchised women. True or False

_____ 21. When were women in England fully enfranchised?
a. in 1893
b. in 1928
c. in 1946

_____ 22. When did Georgia ratify the 19th amendment (women's suffrage)?
a. in 1920
b. in 1950
c. in 1970

_____ 23. "If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound to obey laws in which we have no voice or representation." Who said it?
a. Susan B. Anthony
b. Abigail Adams
c. Bernadette Devlin

_____ 24. You don't read much about women in history books because:
a. Most historians are men.
b. Women have never done anything important.
c. Wars and political intrigues get more coverage than reform movements, domestic history, etc.
d. The women who might like to research women's history couldn't get into graduate school.
e. Now is the first time in history that women have had enough freedom to do anything significant.

_____ 25. The temperance movement included a lot of women because:
a. Married women, even with alcoholic husbands, had no legal right to manage family finances or property.
b. Women are more prudish than men.
c. Carrie Nation's saloon-chopping crusade really turned them on.

_____ 26. Who devised the Union strategy that ultimately won the Civil War?
a. Ulysses Grant
b. Anna Ella Carroll
c. Belle Boyd

_____ 27. Anne Hutchinson left Massachusetts and went to Rhode Island because:
a. She was in love with Roger Williams
b. The climate would be good for her arthritis.
c. The church officials kicked her out because they didn't like uppity women.

_____ 28. Who was Jane Addams?
a. Founder of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
b. Founder of Hull House.
c. Author of books about immigrants.
d. A suffragist.
e. An activist in the labor movement.
f. One of the organizers of the Progressive Party.
g. A leader in the National Women's Trade Union League.

_____ 29. The women's suffrage amendment (19) was passed after:
a. A bunch of silly looking old spinsters in bloomers and blue stockings paraded around Washington with picket signs.
b. 100 years of continuous struggle and agitation by dedicated women.
c. A benevolent Congress decided it just wasn't fair to deny women the vote.

_____ 30. A study of chemist's salaries in 1971 showed that, with seniority held constant, women who held Ph.D.s earned less than men with B.A.s. True or False?

_____ 31. In 1969, of the Americans who earned more than \$10,000 a year, only five percent were women. True or False?

32. Why was the word "sex" added to the Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?
a. Legislators were concerned about discrimination against women.
b. Women's rights pressure groups had lobbied successfully in the House of Representatives
c. It was a joke, put in as a last minute attempt to get the bill defeated.

33. In the United States in 1971, only one percent of the engineers were women. True or False?

34. One reason for paying women less than men is that men have families to feed while women work only to supplement family income. Of the women who work, how many are the sole support of a family?
a. One in 25
b. One in eight.
c. One in three.

35. In which of these species does the male give birth?
a. The brown recluse spider.
b. The sea horse.
c. The praying mantis.

36. Woman drivers have fewer accidents than men drivers? True or False?

37. A Roper poll found that two out of three women who worked during World War II were glad to give their jobs back to returning men. True or False?

38. A single woman stops in at a local bar for a drink after a long day's work. "Sorry," the bartender tells her, "we don't serve unescorted ladies here."
a. He can be prosecuted under the Public Accommodations Section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.
b. He is within his rights since the Public Accommodations Section of the Civil Rights Act does not forbid discrimination based on sex.

39. In 1900 the typical woman worker was 26 and single. Now she is 41 and married. True or False?

40. How many hours a week does the average housewife work?
a. Forty and three tenths hours.
b. Sixty-one and seven tenths hours.
c. Ninety-nine and six tenths hours.

41. In Denmark, what percentage of the dentists are women?
a. Three percent.
b. Forty-six percent.
c. Seventy-five percent.

42. Myra Bradwell (b. 1831) was the first woman to ask to be admitted to the bar. Why was she refused?
a. She was married.
b. She was a woman.
c. She couldn't pass the examination.

43. In which country is this true: "Men are expected to show their emotions.... they are sensitive and have well-developed intuition and...are not expected to be too logical. Women, on the other hand, are considered to be coldly practical."
a. Iran.
b. Poland.
c. China.

44. A French law was changed so that "a wife, without asking the permission of her husband, can take a job or open a checking account." This happened:
a. In 1926.
b. In 1946.
c. In 1966.

45. Name all the women you can think of in American history. Now cross out the First Ladies. How many are left?

WOMEN'S CHRONOLOGY: COLONIAL TIMES

EMPLOYMENT, TECHNOLOGY, INVENTIONS,
HEALTH, HOME, MORALS, FASHION,
EDUCATION

***** *ACHIEVEMENTS AND EVENTS,
WOMEN MOVEMENT, WOMEN'S
LIBERATION MOVEMENT

1617 Marriageable women begin arriving in Virginia for sale to planters.

1619 First slaves land at Virginia.

1627 Women and children, kidnapped in Europe, arrive in Virginia to become servants and laborers.

1636 Massachusetts requires single persons to live in families. Harvard College founded.

***** 1638 Anne Hutchinson charged, condemned and banished as a heretic by the Massachusetts ecclesiastical synod.

***** 1639 Margaret Brent makes unsuccessful request for the right to vote in the Maryland Assembly.

1647 Rhode Island law declares marriage by mutual agreement illegal. Massachusetts requires its towns to maintain schoolmasters.

***** 1648 Margaret Jones becomes first witch executed in the Salem witch-hunt.

***** 1650 Publication in London of The Tenth Muse by New England's first poet, Anne Bradstreet.

1651 Sale of toys and dolls in the stores of Boston indicates softening of views toward childhood.

1655 Illiteracy of women is estimated at about 50 percent.

***** 1656 First all-woman jury in the colonies acquits woman accused of infanticide - she claimed she was never even pregnant.

1660 Connecticut law requires married men to live with their wives. Massachusetts holds men proved to be fathers of bastards liable for child support. South Carolina advertisement in England promises women "a golden age" in the colonies.

1662 Virginia establishes inheritance of slave status through the mother.

***** 1678 Several Poems Compiled with Great Variety of Wit and Learning, by Anne Bradstreet -- first book of poems by a woman published in colonies.

***** 1691 Dunking stool, common form of female punishment in the South, built in front of New York city hall, for the punishment of scolds.

1692 College of William and Mary chartered.

***** 1692 Salem witch-hunt - by 1693, 20 witches had been executed; two died in prison.

1700s Extravagant dress of colonial period includes high heels, stiff stays, and large curled wigs for men and women.

***** 1701 Status of colonial women shown by fact that six women sat in a jury on special duty in Albany.

1705 Virginia requires children of white women and Negro men to serve as slaves for 31 years.

***** 1735 Increased wealth allows more women to leave husbands, live independently. Newspapers carry accounts of runaway wives and elopements.

***** 1739 Eliza Lucas Pinckney experiments successfully in indigo production.

1742 "Franklin" stove invented by Benjamin Franklin.

1745 Whist becomes popular game for ladies and gentlemen together.

1746 First boarding school for girls founded in Bethlehem, PA, by Moravian settlers.

1750s Custom of sending valentines begins.

1759 Phyllis Wheatley sold in Boston slave market. She later becomes published poet.

1760s Stoves for heating and cooking become more common.

1761 Mrs. E. Smith edits The Complete Housewife or Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion, one of earliest American cooking books.

1765 Advertisements by Philadelphia teacher promises to teach ladies to spell and to paint with propriety, without hindering their eligibility for matrimony.

1770s "Tower" reappears as popular hairstyle for rich women-high piles, greased, and powdered with jewels.

*****1770 Boston women organize tea boycott.

1773 Stiff girdling of females comes into style.

*****1774 Ann Lee, "Mother Ani.," arrives in New England, forms Shaker section.

*****1775 Tom Paine writes on subservient position of women.

*****1776 New Jersey becomes first colony to grant woman suffrage; statute reversed in 1807.

1777 In letter, Abigail Adams admonishes husband to remember the rights of women.

1784 First magazine aimed at women as well as men: Gentlemen and Ladies. Town and Country Magazine, Boston.

THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND (QUOTES)

1. You must first lay it down for a foundation in general, that there is inequality in the sexes, and that for the better economy of the world, the men, who were to be the law givers, had the larger share of reason bestowed upon them, by which means your sex is the better prepared for the compliance that is necessary for the better performance of those duties which seem to be most properly assigned to it. This looks a little uncouthly at the first appearance, but upon examination it will be found that Nature is so far from being unjust to you that she is partial on your side. She hath made you such large amends by other advantages, for the seeming injustice of the first distribution, that the right of complaining is come over to our sex; you have it in your power not only to free yourselves, but to subdue your masters, and without violence throw both their natural and legal authority at your feet. We are made of different tempers that our defects might be mutually supplied. Your sex wanteth our reason for your conduct, and our strength for your protection; ours wanteth your gentleness to soften and entertain us.

Lord Halifax 1637 in his
Advice to a Daughter

2. ...Women are only children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining prattle and sometimes wit, but for solid reasoning and good sense, I never knew in my life one that had it, or who reasoned or acted consequentially for four-and-twenty hours together. Some little passion or humor always breaks in upon their best resolutions. Their beauty neglected or controverted, their age increased or their supposed understandings depreciated instantly kindles their most reasonable moments they might have been capable of forming. A man of sense only trifles with them, as he does with a sprightly, forward child; but he neither consults them about nor trusts them with serious matters, though he often makes them believe that he does both, which is the thing in the world that they are proud of; for they love mightily to be dabbling in business, -which, by the way, they always spoil, -and being justly distrustful that men in general look upon them in a trifling light, they almost adore the man who talks more seriously to them, and who seems to consult and trust them: I say, who seems; for weak men really do, but wise ones only seem to do it. No flattery is either too high or too low for them; they will greedily swallow the highest and gratefully accept of the lowest; and you may safely flatter any woman from her understanding down to the exquisite taste of her fan...

Lord Chesterfield to his son in 1748.

3. It is one of the disadvantages belonging to your sex, that young women are seldom permitted to make their own choice; their friends' care and experience are thought safer guides to them than their own fancies, and their modesty often forbiddeth them to refuse when their parents recommended, though their inward consent may not entirely go along with it. In this case there remaineth nothing for them to do but to endeavour to make that easy which falleth to their lot, and by a wise use of everything they may dislike in a husband, turn that by degrees to be very supportable, which if neglected, might in time beget an aversion

Lord Halifax, 1681 in Advice to a
Daughter

4. ...instead of inquiring why all women are not wise and good, we have reason to wonder that there are any. Were the Men as much neglected and as little care taken to cultivate and improve them, perhaps they would be so far from surprising those whom they now despise that they themselves would sink into the greatest stupidity and brutality... Women are from their very infancy debarr'd those advantages with the want of which they are afterwards reproached and raised up in those vices which will hereafter be upbraided to them.

Mary Astell, A Serious Proposal to the Ladies 1694

5. If marriage be the cement of society, mankind should all be educated after the same model, or the intercourse of the sexes will never deserve the name of fellowship, nor will women ever fulfill the peculiar duties of their sex, till they become enlightened citizens, till they become free by being able to earn their own subsistence, independent of men; in the same manner, I mean, to prevent misconstruction, as one man is independent of another. Nay, marriage will never be held sacred till women, by being brought up with men, are prepared to be their companions rather than their mistresses; for the mean couplings of cunning will ever render them contemptible, whilst oppression renders them timid.

Mary Wollstonecraft
Vindication of the Rights of Women 1791

6. A Woman upon marriage dissolved her legal personality into that of her husband.

Blackstone 1765

7. ...Man and wife are one person, but understand in what manner. When a small brook or little river incorporateth with Rhodanus or the Thames, the poor rivulet loseth its name, it is carried and recarried with the new associate, it beareth no sway, it possetheth nothing during coverture... To a married woman, her new self is her superior, her companion, her master.

17th Century British Common Law

COLONIAL QUOTES

1. Mr. Hopkins, the governor of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with him (a godly young woman, and of special parts), who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her diverse years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc. she had kept her wits and might have improved them usefully and honourably in the place God had set her. John Winthrop's Journal

April 13, 1645

2. I suppose that the most unusual piece of work I ever did while we were living on the farm was to make a casket for a little dead baby... Such a way of living is hard, hard, hard. The only thing that can make it endurable for a woman is love and plenty of it... I took satisfaction in the improvements we made, but it seemed to me that our life grew more burdensome each year... And I couldn't see much opportunity for my children... All our married life I was just saving, saving. We shouldn't have had anything if I hadn't been saving. It had been little better than a wilderness when we took it; we left it in a good state of cultivation.

Harriet C. Brown, Grandmother Brown's Hundred Years

3. She had had sixteen children, fourteen of who were dead; she had had four miscarriages; one had been caused with falling down with a very heavy burden on her head, and one from having her arms strained up to be lashed. ...She said their hands were first tied together...and they were then drawn up to a tree or post, and then their clothes rolled around their waist, and a man with a cowhide stands and whips them. I give you the woman's words. She did not speak of this as of anything strange, unusual or especially horrid and abominable; and when I said: "Did they do that to you when you were with child?" She replied simply: "Yes, missis." and to all this I listen- I am English woman, the wife of the man who owns these wretches, and I cannot say: "That thing shall not be done again..." I.. remained choking with indignation and grief long after they had all left me to my most bitter thoughts.

Frances Kemble

4. God forgive us, but ours is a monstrous system...Like the patriarchs of old, our men live all in one house with their wives and their concubines; and the mulattoes one sees in every family partly resemble the white children. Any lady is ready to tell you who is the father of all the mulatto children in everybody's household but her own. Those, she seems to think, drop from the clouds.

"On 18th Century Womanhood," 1782 by Hector St. John De Crèvecoeur in Women and Womanhood in America, Ronald Hogeland, D.C. Heath. 1973. p.32.

WHITHER THE FAMILY: PART I

Little, Brown & Co., 34 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. 02106. Demos, John. "The American Family in Past Times" in Gruenbaum & Christ, Contemporary Marriage: Bond and Bondage, to be published in early 1976.

The first white Americans were, of course, post-Elizabethan Englishmen and heirs of a traditional culture with roots far back in the medieval past. This culture was imported whole when they crossed the ocean to begin the settlement of a new world. Prominent among their mental baggage were deeply held beliefs and values about family life--its proper shape and substance, and its place in that larger scheme of things that has sometimes been characterized as the "great chain of being."

There was, to begin with, the unquestioned assumption of a tight link between the family and the community at large. The individual household was the basic unit of everyday living, the irreducible cell from which all human society was fashioned. It formed, indeed, the model for every larger structure of authority; as one Seventeenth Century author declared, "A family is a little church, and a little commonwealth . . . a school, wherein the first principles and grounds of government and subjection are learned, whereby men are fitted to greater matters in church or commonwealth."

Or—to reverse the metaphor—religious and political communities were only families writ large. The head of the family, normally the father, was also an agent of the state. In fact, the principle of fatherhood lay right at the heart of most political thinking in this period. The higher ranks of men-gentry, noblemen, bishops—were all pictured as fathers to those who fell within their various jurisdictions. The king was simply the grandest and most powerful of these patriarchal figures. Of course, the Puritans—prominent among the colonial settlers—came to exclude the king from their scheme of authority, but this was a substantive, not a structural, difference. Like all men of their time, they assumed the fusion of family and community in the preservation of order.

But what did this mean in detail? It meant, first of all, that a man was not free to do entirely as he pleased within his own family. The larger community—the state—felt concerned in all his behavior toward his wife and children, and acted accordingly.

Thus, for example, a disobedient child was not only punished with a thrashing at the hands of his father; he was also liable to action by the courts. Or—another example—colonial magistrates might remove a child from the care of "unseemly parents" and place it in some other family. Or, again, a local court could order the reunion of a husband and wife who had decided to live apart. Occasionally this obliged a man (or a woman) to leave the colonies altogether, in order to search for a long-lost spouse in England.

In general, individuals who lived by themselves were regarded as potential sources of disorder, and court records are full of directives to such people to find families in which to locate themselves. In all these ways the state might interfere in the sphere of family life. The word "interfere" expresses, of course, our own view of the matter, and the point is that people in the Seventeenth Century felt quite differently.

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They regarded such activity as a natural and vital prerogative of the state.

This pattern seemed appropriate because the premodern family performed a wide range of practical functions—both for its own members and for society at large. The household was, for example, the primary unit of economic production and exchange. The vast majority of the American colonists were farmers, and, as in most agricultural communities, there was ample work for everyone, right down to the very young. These families possessed a kind of occupational cohesion not even approximated in our own day.

Moreover, the family was also the chief agency of education in colonial America. Schools were limited both in their number and in the character of their facilities, and colleges were for the wealthy few. It was, therefore, from parents that most children learned what they knew of the three Rs. And it was parents (or parental surrogates) who transmitted the vocational skills that would be essential to adult life, whether in farming or (less often) in some one of the skilled trades. In this connection the apprenticeship system precisely epitomized the larger significance of family life.

The family also provided a variety of social services which are now the prerogatives of other institutions. It was the usual place of recourse for sick persons and the elderly. (Old people no longer able to care for themselves would sometimes move in with the family of a grown son, in exchange for a gift of money or land.) Orphans and the indigent were "placed," by local magistrates, in particular households. Even criminals were occasionally handled in this way—implying the effectiveness of the family both as an agency of restraint and as a setting for personal reform.

The fundamental unit, then as now, was husband, wife, and their natural children. Occasionally, to be sure, this group was modified through the temporary residence of an elderly grandparent (as mentioned above), or of an apprentice, or of some charge on the community; but such arrangements were of limited impact overall. It was the firm expectation of all concerned that a newly wed couple would establish their own separate menage. The families of both bride and groom joined together to provide the necessary means, contributing land, housing, money, and personal effects in amounts stipulated by formal "deeds of gift."

In practice, the range of potential partners was limited by factors of geography and social class. Most colonial settlements were small (less than 100 families), and there was little chance for courting between towns. Moreover, it was expected that a man and woman planning marriage would evince an over-all equality of material—and spiritual—estate. But love must be present, to begin with, and would remain strong, it was hoped, as the couple waxed in years.

As in all societies, however, some marriages worked less well than others. In a few cases, a very few, the local courts might sanction divorce. The acceptable grounds were limited to desertion (for a period of no less than seven years), adultery, and impotence. (The third of these grounds reflects the important assumption that marriage should provide sexual companionship and yield children.) Incompatibility was

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recognized as a significant problem—an occasion sometimes for outside intervention, but not for divorce.

Legal records reveal a variety of domestic troubles in frequently pungent detail; a man punished for "abusing his wife by kicking her off from a stool into the fire"; a woman charged with "beating and reviling her husband, and egging her children to help her, bidding them knock him in the head, and wishing his victuals might choke him"; a couple "severely reproved for their most ungodly living in contention with the other." In all such cases the courts stood ready to declare their interest—and to exert their authority.

For the colonists, as for people everywhere, family life was influenced by profound beliefs as to differences of age and gender. Concerning women, the thinking of this period was clear enough: In virtually every important respect theirs was the weaker, the inferior, sex. Their position in marriage was distinctly subordinate, their chief duty being obedience to their husbands. Their mental and moral capacities were rated well below those of men.

"Dangerous" Femininity

There is one other element in the colonial view of women that is hard to specify and even harder to analyze: an implicit, but unmistakable, undercurrent of suspicion and fear. Femininity was linked to deep and mysterious dangers—a special potentiality for evil and corruption. There was a sense that women were less than trustworthy. Thus one finds in legal and personal documents a comment like the following: "If you would believe a woman, believe me...." Thus, too, witchcraft was attributed far more often to women than to men. (There are cultures where the reverse is true.) Still, one must not overemphasize these alleged sex differences.

Colonial women were never truly set apart. Women's lives and characters overlapped with men's at many points; a whole world of thought and feeling and practical circumstance was effectively shared. Their experience from day to day was too similar, their partnership too profound, to support the more radical forms of sex typing that would develop in a later era.

And what of the young in colonial America? There remain from the period various books and essays on the proper deportment of children, which convey some impression at least of what was expected.

Discipline for Children

A central theme in these works—especially, but not exclusively, in the writings of the Puritans—is the need to impose strict discipline on the child virtually from the beginning of life. Here is the advice of the Rev. John Robinson, a leading preacher among the Pilgrims just prior to their departure for America: "Surely there is in all children...a stubbornness and stoutness of mind arising from natural pride which must in the first place be broken and beaten down, that so the foundation of their education being laid in humility and tractability, other virtues may in their time be built thereon." The key terms are "broken" and "beaten down." The child was regarded as coming into the world with an inherently corrupted and selfish nature, and this created the central problem for parents.

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Another urgent concern was religious principles--again, from an extremely early age. Cotton Mather's diary contains the following description of a conference with his 4-year-old daughter: "I took my little daughter Katy into my study and then I told my child I am to die shortly and she must, when I am dead, remember everything I now said unto her. I set before her the sinful condition of her nature, and charged her to pray in secret places every day that God for the sake of Jesus Christ would give her a new heart. I gave her to understand that when I am taken from her she must look to meet with more humbling afflictions than she does now (that) she has a tender father to care for her."

A tender father indeed! This passage startles us; the calculated appeal to fear affronts our sense of the needs and sensibilities of children. But there is a vital issue of content here. Colonial society barely recognized childhood as we know and understand it today.

Consider, for example, the matter of dress. In virtually all Seventeenth Century Paintings, children appear in the same sort of clothing that was normal for adults. In fact, this accords nicely with what we know of other aspects of the child's life. His work, much of his recreation, and his closest personal contacts were encompassed within the world of adults. From the age of 6 or 7 he was set to a regular round of tasks about the house or farm (or, in the case of a craftsman's family, the shop or store). When the family went to church, or went visiting, he went along. In short, from his earliest years he was expected to be--or to try to be--a miniature adult.

Settlements vs. the Frontier

There was, first of all, the simple factor of space. Most of the colonists assumed that the proper way to live was in compact, little village-communities, such as their forebears in England had known for centuries. But in the New World, of course, the ecological context was wildly different. Out beyond the fringes of settlement there was land for the taking, seemingly limitless in extent and empty of "civilized" use or habitation. (Thus was the presence of Indians discounted.) For many people this presented an overpowering temptation--to move, and to live for and by oneself. Thus by the early Eighteenth Century, the typical pattern of settlement was not a checkerboard of well-spaced villages, but rather a straggling, jumbled mosaic with houses strung out willy-nilly into the wilderness.

But the lure of empty land fragmented not only villages; families, too, were significantly affected. Movement away from the older centers of settlement was often accomplished in terms of successive generations. Young people, as they approached adulthood, began to consider the possibilities of settling new land near the frontier. The usual alternative was to accept a "portion" in their home village, that would come from their parents on the occasion of marriage, but often this portion was simply much less than what they could hope to gain for themselves elsewhere. And so they would leave.

The Dividing Family

There is a passage in William Bradford's famous history of Plymouth that vividly lays bare this dimension of colonial experience. Bradford deplored the process whereby settlers moved steadily away from Plymouth to take up new lands elsewhere, leaving the original site "like an ancient mother grown old and forsaken of her children, though not in their affections, yet in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness; her ancient members being most of them worn away by death, and she like a widow left only to trust God."

The metaphor is poignant enough in its own right, but it must have rung doubly true to many of Bradford's readers. For it was part of the New World experience that families should be continually divided, and that at least some elderly people should be left behind to fend for themselves after their children had moved on.

This altered balance between men and their environment would, in the long run, affect authority relations within the family. There are many scraps of evidence to suggest that the position of the young was measurably strengthened. If a child—an older child—felt unduly constrained by his family situation, he could simply leave. Better still, he could use the threat of leaving as leverage in struggles or quarrels that might arise with his parents.

There was also the fact that younger persons were often the most flexible and resourceful in meeting the challenges of the new land. Here, indeed, is the start of a central theme in the lives of immigrant families through the whole course of American history: Parental authority is progressively undermined as the child discovers that he is more effective in the new setting than his foreign-born father and mother.

It also seems evident that the American environment worked to improve significantly the status of women. This process is most easily traced with respect to a woman's legal standing; her right to hold property, for instance, was extended well beyond the traditional limits of the Old World.

Moreover, by the Eighteenth Century many women were active in business and professional pursuits. They ran inns and taverns; they managed a wide variety of stores and shops; and, at least occasionally, they worked in careers like publishing, journalism, and medicine. More broadly, they seem to have interacted easily and informally with men, in all sorts of everyday encounters. There are, in the records of colonial America, no grounds for inferring a pervasive system of deference based on sex.

And what accounts for this rise in woman's status? First, there was her sheer functional necessity, given the special circumstances of colonial life. Her area of responsibility included those basic domestic chores with which we are still familiar today, and much, much more. The average household was also a miniature factory producing clothing, furniture, bedding, candles, and other such accessories—and in all this the woman's role was central: There were some occasions when she joined the menfolk for work in the fields. Finally, it was very much to her

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advantage that men outnumbered women by a ratio of roughly three-to-two during most of the colonial period.

One more topic, highly germane to family life, deserves special mention here—namely, the prevalent attitudes and behavior in regard to sexuality. The traditional view is tediously familiar: Puritans were nothing if not "puritanical"; thus colonial culture was characterized by sexual repressiveness of an extreme kind, and the trend ever since has been slowly but steadily in the direction of greater freedom.

Tolerance for Premarital Sex

But this picture is seriously misleading, for the reason (among others) that it obscures important changes even within the colonial period. It is true enough that the earliest settlers, especially in New England, maintained a firm moral code, which proscribed all sexual contacts outside of marriage. However, this code was directly violated by at least some individuals from the very start, and in the Eighteenth Century it was widely compromised. Gradually "fornication" ceased to be a crime that was taken into court; instead, legal dockets became filled with cases of "bastardy." In short, there was a growing tolerance for premarital sexual experience; the main problem was the disposition of those illegitimate children brought into the world as a result of this tolerance.

There is other evidence bearing out the same trends. It is possible, for example, to obtain rates of bridal pregnancy by comparing the dates on which given couples were married with the dates of birth of their first children. (A "positive" case is recorded whenever the interval is eight months or less.) The results for colonial America are most interesting. Positive cases appear only rarely until the very end of the Seventeenth Century. In the early Eighteenth Century, however, the rate rises markedly. And by 1750 as many as one-third to one-half of the brides in some communities were going to the altar pregnant.

THE EARLIEST AMERICAN WOMEN

1

Long before Europeans arrived in North America, the Indians had evolved orderly and smoothly functioning societies. European women were accustomed to superficial deference from men. When they observed their native counterparts carrying heavy loads or walking behind the horses of their braves, they must have thought Indian women downtrodden and oppressed. Yet the central importance of women in Indian life often brought them much greater privilege and authority than colonial women enjoyed. In both European and Indian societies, male and female roles were clearly defined and separated. But in colonial times, Indian women generally participated much more actively than white women in determining the destiny of their people.

The Pueblos of the Southwest

The Zuni kinship system is matrilineal and matrilocal. The husband goes to live with his wife's family who may add an extra room for its daughter's new family. The constant addition of rooms is one of the reasons the Zuni village looks like a jumble of houses. The household is really an extended family, sometimes numbering twenty-five people, that includes the grandmother, her unmarried daughters, her married daughters with their husbands and children, and her unmarried brothers and sons. The women own the house, and all the men except the unmarried brothers and unmarried sons are outsiders. The fields also belong to the matrilineal clans, with the women possessing the rights to what the land produces. The men labor in the gardens, but whatever they harvest goes into the common storage bins of the household's women.

Marriage and Divorce

Marriage at Zuni is best described as "brittle monogamy." A wife can divorce her husband at any time simply by placing his possessions outside the door. The ease and frequency of divorce are explained by the security of the woman in her own lineage and her own household. There are no property claims to be resolved since she and her lineage own almost everything; her sons, her unmarried or divorced brothers, and her sisters' husbands can easily enough provide the necessary manual labor until she remarries. Similarly, the divorced man can always expect a welcome if he returns to his mother's and his sisters' household; they are happy to receive the windfall of his labor. The husband feels that his real home is in the household of his mother and his sisters. He interests himself deeply in their affairs; he is concerned with the rearing of his nephews and nieces; and he returns to their household on ceremonial occasions.

Importance of Agriculture in Shaping Societies

Although many tribes trace descent through the father and have rules providing for residence with the father's family, many other tribes have become matrilineal in the way the Zuni, Hopi, and Iroquois have. . . Most of the matrilineal tribes known about around the world have one thing in common: They practice gardening based on natural rainfall rather than on the building of irrigation works, which would have required male labor to build and to maintain. As the primary food producers, women tend the gardens, collaborate in processing the food, have common storage places,

and sometimes even cook together. Irrigation somewhat changes the picture, as the responsibility for the success of agriculture then depends upon the men who must cooperate to keep the water flowing.

Women in the Nomadic Tribes

A Sioux maiden saw modesty, moderation, and poised reserve the approved pattern of life all around her. She learned, often very early, that to the Sioux, courtesy is making others feel pleasant and warm as with the sunlight upon them. Face must be saved, but first of all the face of others. "If one shames himself by rudeness to you, then you must make yourself seem to deserve it all, and more."

The small girl saw the women manage the life of the lodge in their quiet and gentle way although some Sioux women were good taunters of enemy warriors and of their own if they seemed laggard. There was an occasional scold and shrew among the wives...

Medicine and Ceremony

There were some Sioux women in public life--famous healers and herbalists and a few holy ones who sometimes gave advice, mainly about ceremonials and religious duties and personal perplexities. Like the holy men, they were generally good listeners....Often a woman was required by the medicine man's healing because health to the Indians seemed a thing of balance, a basic wholeness, and restoring it needed the two halves, the man and a woman helper. Women and girls, too, sometimes made vows of special ordeal or sacrifice in times of sickness, famine or great war danger....They fulfilled these in the proper way, perhaps even in the rigors of the sun dance. They held chieftainships when bands lost all their men of leadership stature, as in the great scourges and in the later Sioux wars, when so many good men died....

Watching and Learning

The little Sioux girl learned about life, about birth and death, as her brother did, in the natural way, long before she realized their full meaning--a realization that came to her gradually, like growth in the sleep of night, without shock or a sense of betrayal by pretty stories and pretenses.

When war parties went out the young girl stood behind the women making their songs and dances for the strong heart, for hope and for victory. She covered her head with her robe or blanket in the keening (mourning) for those who did not return, or those who had to be borne to the trees or the death scaffold from other dying. She sat with the gossiping women at work or at their gambling. She went with the berry pickers, the turnip diggers and the herb gatherers. Evenings she joined the water carriers, shy with the boys and young men who seemed so ordinary during the day and so strange in the evening sun. She learned to shoot the small bow of the children and the women, and to carry a short butcher knife in her belt, ready for work and for defense if it was needed against enemies and any who would molest her, for among the Sioux a woman had the duty of defending herself at all cost against attack....

Every Sioux maiden went through a puberty ceremony, too....Friends of the mother came to bathe the daughter, dress her and seat her in the honored place of the lodge usually set up for the purpose, with prominent ones beside her. Here the girl received congratulations, gifts, and songs of praise and promise, and an elaborate oration from a wise man of the village, who outlines the duties of a woman of the Sioux. First there was the long harangue (speech) on the greatness of the tribe and then about the girl's family and her duties to them, repeating the reminder: the honor of the people lies in the moccasin tracks of the women. "Walk the good road, my daughter, and the buffalo herds wide and dark as cloud shadows moving over the prairie will follow you, the spring full of the yellow calves, the fall earth shaking with the coming of the fat ones, their robes thick and warm as the sun on the lodge door. Be dutiful, respectful, gentle and modest, my daughter. And proud walking. If the pride and the virtue of the women are lost, the spring will come but the buffalo trails will turn to grass. Be strong, with the warm, strong heart of the earth. No people goes down until their women are weak and dishonored, or dead upon the ground. Be strong and sign (bless) the strength of the Great Powers within you and all around you."

Condensed from Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization as shown by the Indians of North America... (New York: E.D.uttons & Co., 1968).

WOMEN'S CHRONOLOGY: AS THE NATION GROWS

EMPLOYMENT, TECHNOLOGY, INVENTIONS,
HEALTH, HOME, MORALS, FASHION,
EDUCATION

*****ACHIEVEMENTS AND EVENTS,
WOMEN'S MOVEMENT, WOMEN'S
LIBERATION MOVEMENT

1785 Bundling custom falls into disrepute, because of better heating of homes and new etiquette.

1790 Textile mill built in Pawtucket by Samuel Slater.

1797 Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children formed in New York.

1807 Congress passes law banning further African slave trade.

1811 Painting on velvet becomes popular among ladies.

1816 About 66,000 women and girls and 34,000 men and boys, in cotton industry.

1820 Women constitute 90% of cotton industry.

1821 Emma Willard opens Troy Female Seminary (first women's high school).

1824 First recorded strike of women workers, Pawtucket, R. I. weavers.

*****1826 Nashoba, utopian community, formed near Memphis, Tenn. by Francis Wright.

1827 Ladies Magazine founded by Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, first magazine specifically for women.

1830 First cooking stoves marketed on regular basis in U.S.

1830 Sojourner Truth is freed.

*****1832 Lydia Maria Child publishes History of Women.

1833 Oberlin becomes first co-ed college.

*****1833 Lucretia Mott speaks at first convention of American Anti-Slavery Society.

1834 Prudence Crandall runs school for Negro girls in Connecticut.

1836 Alonzo Phillips invents "striking match".

*****1836 Narcissa Prentiss Whitman and Eliza Hart Spaulding become first women to cross North America on missionary expedition.

1837 Exercise for Ladies by Donald Walker, cautions against horseback riding.
Mount Holyoke Seminary founded by Mary Lyon.
Grimke sisters become active in abolition and emerging woman's movement.

*****1838 Underground Railroad becomes well established
Angelina Grimke marries Theodore Weld.

1839 Josephine Amelia Perkins becomes first convicted female horse thief.

1840 American Anti-Slavery Society sends delegates to London World Anti-Slavery Convention - women barred.

1843 Dorothea Dix travels the country in drive to reform mental institutions.

*****1844 Margaret Fuller publishes Woman in the Nineteenth Century.

1845 Sarah Bagley leads women workers at the Lowell, Mass. cotton mill.

1846 Sewing machine invented by Elias Howe.

*****1847 Beginning of standardized kitchen units.
Maria Mitchell discovers a comet, which is named after her.

*****1848 Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention — id.
New York legislature passes married women's property rights law.
Maria Mitchell becomes first woman elected to American Academy of Art and Sciences.

1849 Modern safety pin invented by Walter Hunt.
Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D., admitted to practice in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London.
Boston Female Medical School founded; merges in 1874 with Boston University School of Medicine.

*****1849 First issue of Lily, feminist journal, appears, edited by Amelia Bloomer.

1850 The iron range replaces the great hearth in settled areas.
Amelia Bloomer begins to wear "bloomers", soon to become popular among active women for a short while.

*****1850 Maria Mitchell becomes first woman elected to the Association for the Advancement of Science.

1851 Sojourner Truth delivers speech ". . . Ain't I a Woman?"

1852 Most public school teachers are women.
Antionette Brown becomes first woman minister to be ordained.
Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes Uncle Tom's Cabin.
American Women's Education Association formed by Catherine Beecher.

1853 Women introduced as waitresses.
Woman's Record or Sketches of Distinguished Women, written by Sarah Josepha Hale.

1855 Horseback riding is fashionable for ladies.

1857 Sewing machine is perfected.

1858 John L. Mason develops 3-part mason jar.
University of Iowa becomes first state university to admit women.

1859 Home electrical lighting demonstration in Salem, Mass.

WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

1

Condensed from Herstory 1776 by Linda Grant DePauw. Reprinted with
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In the American Revolutionary Era, most women--at least, most women who were not servants or slaves--spent their time doing traditional "women's work" for their families: cooking and sewing, keeping people and houses clean, nursing the sick and making household products.

These jobs required heavy labor, and human muscle-power had few aids then. The Industrial Revolution had not yet arrived.

Feeding the family in the Revolutionary Era did not entail creative menu planning. Women usually fed their husbands and children the same menus for weeks at a time according to what produce was in season. Bacon, corn cakes, and rum were the staples, the colonial equivalent of our hamburger, French fries, and milkshake. Tending the kitchen garden, raising and slaughtering the domestic animals, and preparing the raw animal and vegetable matter did not allow time for experimenting with new recipes. Before cooking could begin, many steps needed to be taken: grain had to be made into meal, meat had to be dressed, fowl plucked, butter and cheese made, and food that was not to be consumed immediately must somehow be preserved. Water had to be brought from a source sometimes a mile from the house, and a fire had to be built and then carefully tended (because there were no matches, a dead fire was extremely difficult to rekindle). For cooking, the fire had to be kept burning even on the hottest days of summer.

Cooking was done before the open flames, and the constant exposure gave women still in their twenties red, leathery complexions. The food for a dozen or more people required the cook to manipulate heavy iron kettles weighing as much as 50 pounds empty and holding as much as 10 gallons.

Feeding the family was the most urgent daily chore. Next came making the clothing that would be tough enough to withstand heavy wear and warm enough for protection in New England houses where the winter temperature regularly fell below freezing a few feet from the kitchen fire. While they waited for the pot to boil or the corn cakes to bake in the ashes, women and girls would sit by the fire spinning, carding, weaving, knitting, quilting, or cutting and stitching garments. Even upper-class women never had their hands idle. Working in her spare moments, a colonial woman spent a full year making a homespun suit for her husband. City folk and wealthy planters might import cloth from England. Their women need only cut and stitch. But importing such items was frowned on in the pre-Revolutionary years, and many well-to-do ladies turned to their spinning wheels rather than violate the nonimportation policy of the Continental Congress.

Only after food and clothing had been provided could colonial women concern themselves with cleaning. Fortunately, 18th-century standards were low. Soap--made from carefully collected animal grease and the lye of

wood ashes--was hard on the skin, and people did not wash themselves very often. One Philadelphia lady who tried a newly designed shower bath in 1771 found being wet all over such an unpleasant experience that she did not repeat the experiment for 18 years. Since washable cotton cloth was not common until the next century, and since colonial Americans owned little clothing, what they did have was rarely cleaned.

The low standards of cleanliness undoubtedly had something to do with the prevalence of sickness in colonial America. The idea that caring for the sick was part of "women's work" made women the usual doctors for colonial Americans. Women traded medical recipes and collected stocks of herbal remedies. Given the primitive state of medical knowledge, most Americans would rather trust themselves to a local woman than resort to a young man with a medical degree from Edinburgh who might kill them by bleeding or massive doses of calomel.

Delivering babies was a job for midwives. Male doctors were rarely called in. The average colonial woman bore many children, not infrequently as many as 20. But the infant mortality rate was appalling. The mother whose natural tasks included caring for and nursing her children usually buried several and sometimes all of them.

In addition to their traditional chores, colonial women participated in a wide variety of productive enterprises. Before the Industrial Revolution, men as well as women did their work at home. This arrangement made it possible for the entire family to participate in the work. The shopkeeper's wife could go next door and help serve the customers or work on the accounts, a blacksmith's wife could shoe a horse, or a printer's wife could set a few lines of type. Advertisements in colonial newspapers reveal the existence of women in every kind of occupation.

The demand for labor in 18th-century America was too great to exclude any able worker from any field. Criticizing a woman for stepping outside her "sphere" and becoming "unfeminine" was virtually unknown. Experience Bozarth, for example, a few years before the Revolution, found herself managing the defense of several families who had taken refuge in her home from Indians. After all the men had been wounded, she skillfully handled an ax, braining two intruders and disemboweling a third. This was the kind of woman for an 18th-century man. No frontier man wanted to live with a woman who might faint at the sight of blood or who could not handle weapons in self-defense. Even in the towns, women were expected to know how to fire the family musket in case a prowling fox should threaten the chickens.

Legal, Social, and Political Status

The concept of women's rights and status that was brought to America with the first settlers was an unusually liberal one. England was ruled by a queen, the great Elizabeth I, at the time the English made their first tentative approaches to the North American continent. Elizabeth was not the only powerful woman in late 16th-century England. Other women of the upper classes could and did hold courts, vote for members of Parliament, serve as knights of the kingdom, and participate vigorously in the religious and political conflicts of the day. Lower-class women, like lower-class men, had few rights of any sort, but in the 16th and 17th centuries sex was not a barrier in most occupations. In particular the right of

women to belong to guilds was well established.

The pioneer conditions in America encouraged a further extension of women's rights, and in the colonies poor women as well as rich benefited from gradual modifications of the repressive common law. But in the 18th century the tide turned. The Industrial Revolution in England began to limit the economic power of women in home industries, and American women began to face considerable restriction of their legal rights, until the legal status of women was as degraded by 1776 as it would be in the 19th century.

According to Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, published between 1765 and 1769 and enthusiastically accepted by American lawyers, a married woman was not a legal person; the common law said she was a part of her husband. A wife could not own property and therefore could not enjoy any of the political rights that depended on property ownership. Indeed, she did not even possess legal title to her own clothing, and if she ran away with it to escape a vicious husband, she was guilty of theft.

The common law was kinder to unmarried women. Widows and spinsters enjoyed most of the personal and property rights of free men. In particular, their right to engage in business enterprises as free agents was recognized. Widows and spinsters, however, were extremely rare in 18th-century America, and those who remained unattached usually had little property.

At the same time that the legal status of women was worsening, English moralists and educators began to propound a more restricted role for "ladies." The so-called ladies' books preached modesty, meekness, and obedience to husbands, and encouraged women to feign intellectual and bodily weakness. "If you happen to have any learning," ran some typical advice, "keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding." And again, "We (men) so naturally associate the idea of female softness and delicacy with a correspondent delicacy of constitution, that when a woman speaks of her great strength, her extraordinary appetite, her ability to bear excessive fatigue, we recoil at the description, in a way she is little aware of." At the time of the American Revolution, then, both the legal rights and the theoretical status of women had passed the peak and were beginning to decline.

In the 18th-century, political rights were an outgrowth of property rights. At the time of the Revolution, only four states--Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia--specifically disfranchised females who otherwise met the property and residence requirements for voters. For most of the 18th century, however, the rate of political participation was very low even among the men who were qualified to vote, and it is possible that most of the women who had a legal right to the franchise did not realize that they were entitled to it. Nevertheless, there is a handful of examples of women voting in Virginia, and a few recorded cases of women voting in New England and the Middle Colonies. An exceptional situation arose in the state of New Jersey.

In 1790, the New Jersey legislature, accepting the principle that all taxpayers should have the right to vote--"No taxation without representation"--passed an election law which specifically referred to voters by the words "he and she." Unmarried women then went to the polls in significant numbers. It was said that in some townships, they cast a quarter of the votes. In 1807, however, after charges that married women had been participating in the elections, the New Jersey legislature disfranchised all females.

Black Women

One in five females of the Revolutionary Era was black and most of them were slaves. The few studies of 18th-century history that do exist give little attention to women.

We do know that black women worked at the same domestic and industrial tasks as white women and, in addition, black women worked in the fields while white women usually worked only in the kitchen gardens. It also appears that women slaves, although they may have been no happier with servitude than men, ran away much less frequently--probably because they felt bound to their children and also because they had fewer skills to support themselves in freedom. A student of Virginia runaways has concluded that those women who did leave their masters "were an even superior group of slaves than the men...exceedingly clever, aggressively resourceful."

Indian Women

At the time of the Revolution, the Indian population of British North America had a rich civilization that was markedly different from that of the whites. White observers were usually impressed by the hard work demanded of Indian women and shocked by the ease of divorce. It is probably significant, however, that white women captured by the Indians, who had the opportunity to choose between two cultures, frequently remained with the Indians rather than return to white society.

Some of the Indian tribes vested considerable political authority in their women. Women might decide whether captives should be adopted by the tribe or killed, they had the power to veto a declaration of war, and their influence was felt in council. Certain individual Indian women had a measurable influence on events during the Revolution. Molly Brant was the leader of a society of Iroquois matrons, and a British Indian agent reported that "one word from her goes farther with them (the Iroquois) than a thousand from any white man without exception." Her support of the British is credited with keeping the western tribes of Iroquois loyal to George III. On the other hand, Nancy Ward of the Cherokees sympathized with the Americans, and besides using her influence to prevent executions, she had access to military information which she passed on to the patriots.

Daughters of Liberty

The American patriots were aware that women's actual participation in colonial society made them a force that could swing the balance for or against independence, though they were not invited to join the Committees of Correspondence or become delegates to the Continental Congress.

Patriotic women, whose stories have been preserved largely through the efforts of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, used their individual talents to sew flags, make guns, spy for the Americans, smuggle supplies to the Army, ride cross-country carrying intelligence, and capture British scouts.

In addition to the individual acts of patriotism, Revolutionary women engaged in extensive and effective group activities. Women's groups were established long before the Revolution. In Burlington, New Jersey, for instance, women were holding "regular business meetings" before the end of the 17th century. In 1707, a Charleston physician reported that "the women of the town are turned politicians ...and have a club where they meet weekly."

From time to time these groups went beyond discussion and undertook political action. In 1733, a group of New York City widows drew up a petition protesting their exclusion from government functions. During the pre-Revolutionary years, groups of women began to identify themselves as Daughters of Liberty and to undertake organized activities in support of the patriot cause.

When the war began, these groups concentrated on the task of supplying the Army. Some women worked together to produce thread that would be donated to make Army uniforms. Other groups learned to make saltpeter or held scrap drives, collecting pewter dishes that were melted down for musket balls. The Daughters of Liberty in New York City appropriated the equestrian statue of George III--which had been pulled down from Bowling Green by the Sons of Liberty--and melted it down for ammunition.

The largest of the women's wartime organizations was the "Association." Formed in 1780 under the leadership of Esther De Berdt Reed, its original aim was to raise money for a cash gift to every Continental soldier. It was centered in Philadelphia but was conceived as a national organization. Evidence of its activity exists for Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina, as well as Pennsylvania.

At a time of fierce inflation when sound money was very hard to come by, when neither the Congress nor the state governments could pay or adequately supply the Army, the women in the city of Philadelphia alone raised more than \$300,000 in Continental currency, the equivalent of \$7,500 in gold.

On General Washington's suggestion, a present of shirts was substituted for the cash gift to the soldiers. Besides collecting the money, women contributed the labor to cut and sew the cloth. A French visitor to the home of Sarah Bache, the daughter of Benjamin Franklin, noticed the mounds of shirts awaiting shipment. In the house were 2,200 starched shirts, neatly stacked, with each shirt bearing the embroidered name of the woman who had sewn it.

Camp Followers

The thousands of women who worked and fought with the American Army

and who suffered for the patriot cause at least as much as the men they followed have been totally blacked out of the historical record or else dismissed as women of "vicious character."

It should be made quite clear that in 18th-century America, the term "camp follower" was by no means a synonym for whore. Today the "camp followers" would be called Army wives. They were respectable married women (frequently pregnant and usually accompanied by their children), who followed their men because they wanted to care for them and support the cause or because the movements of the British army had made them refugees. Many women followed their husbands because they needed the half-ration for themselves and the quarter-ration for each child that was considered the right of women "married on the strength." This early form of "dependent's allowance" was approved only for women who accompanied the troops and worked for the Army.

Camp followers were essential to the Army because, as in peace-time, they fed the men, nursed them, and kept them reasonably clean. Before many women had joined the troops it was almost impossible to maintain minimum standards of hygiene in the American camp. "Many of the Americans have sickened and died of the dysentery," wrote an observer at Cambridge, "brought upon them in a great measure through an inattention to cleanliness. When at home, their female relations put them upon washing their hands and faces, and keeping themselves neat and clean; but, being absent from such monitors, through an indolent, heedless turn of mind, they have neglected the means of health, have grown filthy, and poisoned their constitution by nastiness."

Camp-following was not confined to poor or lower-class women. Officers' wives also followed the flag. Martha Washington, Rebecca Biddle, Kitty Greene, and Lucy Knox were among the women found in the American camps. These officers' wives also worked for their keep, nursing, mending, and cleaning, or doing such clerical chores as copying enclosures for letters and transcribing file copies of outgoing communications.

During action, camp followers were primarily involved in tending the wounded, carrying cartridges or water, and sometimes even loading and firing fieldpieces. These women have come down to us under the generic name of Molly Pitcher. The heroism of the original Molly Pitcher, usually identified as Mary Ludwig Hayes, was recognized by General Washington at the Battle of Monmouth. Another fighting wife was Margaret "Captain Molly" Corbin. Wounded at Fort Washington, she was cited for her courage by the Continental Congress and is buried at West Point. Eighteenth-century women were used to handling weapons, and when they saw a job that needed doing, they did not wait for a man to come along and do it.

In addition to the camp followers, there were other women with the American Army who wrapped their breasts, put on men's clothing, collected an enlistment bounty and full rations, and fought in the Army as men. Since a considerable number of boys of 15 and 16--and a few as young as 11 and 12--served in the Continental Army, a woman in men's clothing would find it easier than might be thought to pass as a young man. We only know about those who were discovered. The best known of these is

is Deborah Sampson Gannett of Massachusetts, who capitalized on her experiences when she became the first American woman to earn money giving lectures.

Feminists

The slogans of the American Revolution which declared the rights of liberty and self-determination to be self evident implied support for equality of the sexes.

The best-known feminist voice of the American Revolutionary Era is that of Abigail Adams. It occurred to her early in 1776 that the separation from England, which seemed imminent, would provide a good occasion for liberalizing the commonlaw restrictions on married women. In a now classic letter she deliberately dropped the hint to her own husband, John Adams, who, as a member of the Continental Congress, was in a position to institute such reform. "And by the way," Abigail wrote, "in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. ...If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

But, John Adams was not open-minded enough to extend his political principles to women. "Depend on it," he wrote to his wife, "we know better than to repeal our masculine systems...rather than give up this, which would completely subject us to the despotism of the petticoat, I hope General Washington and all our brave heroes would fight."

Abigail Adams was disappointed and, reporting on this exchange to Mercy Warren, she wrote, "I think I will get you to join me in a petition to Congress." The petition was never written. Mrs. Warren probably opposed the idea.

Mercy Otis Warren was the most prominent female intellectual in Revolutionary America. She participated in the propaganda warfare in Boston during the prewar years and also during the campaign for ratification of the federal Constitution in 1787. She was also the author of the best contemporary history of the Revolution. She was, however, a very ambivalent feminist. She was a good many years older than Abigail Adams and in her wide reading had digested many English books that taught a natural inequality of the sexes and recommended a restricted sphere of thought and action for "ladies." Consequently, Mrs. Warren was frequently troubled by the notion that she had somehow been born with a man's brain in a woman's body. Although she was an experienced propagandist, she never published a feminist statement.

In private letters she urged young women not to "acknowledge such an inferiority as would check the ardor of our endeavors to equal in all mental accomplishments the most masculine heights." And yet, she could also write, "My dear, it may be necessary for you to seem inferior; but you need not be so. Let them have their little game, since it may have been so willed. It won't hurt you; it will amuse them."

A third Massachusetts woman expressed her feminist ideas publicly. Judith Sargent Stevens Murray of Gloucester, Massachusetts, wrote two articles in 1779 and published them over the name "Constantia" in Massachusetts magazine in the spring of 1790. These forthright articles, are especially remarkable for their anticipation of many themes that would be stressed by later feminists.

For instance, "Constantia" challenges the view that housework should be exclusively women's concern. "Is it reasonable that...an intelligent being...should be so degraded, as to be allowed no other ideas, than those which are suggested by the mechanism of a pudding?" she asks. No, she tells her male readers, these are "your domestic affairs. Yes, your, for are you not equally interested in those matters with ourselves? Is not the elegancy of neatness as agreeable to your sight as to ours; is not the well-favoured viand equally delightful to your taste; and doth not your sense of hearing suffer as much, from the discordant sounds prevalent in an ill-regulated family, produced by the voices of children and many et ceteras?"

A number of other American women also saw the feminist implications in the ideology of the American Revolution. Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Woman was read and approved by women in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia after it appeared in 1790. But no wave of feminist revolution followed in the wake of the War for Independence. Indeed, within a few years, American women assumed a position markedly inferior to what they had before the war began. To this day they have not recovered all the lost ground. In 1810, Charles Francis Adams, grandson of Abigail and John, could write, "The heroism of the females of the Revolution has gone from memory with the generation that witnessed it, and nothing, absolutely nothing, remains upon the ear of the young of the present day." Correcting this situation would be an excellent way to celebrate the Bicentennial.

THE AMERICAN BACKGROUND (QUOTES)

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1. When the dust had finally settled and the victors had sat down at the conference table to form the new governments, the women found that they themselves had been left out. There were no women at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, no women in the first Continental Congress, no women at the polling places when George Washington was elected first President of the United States. Worst of all, women had been left out of the Constitution and remained unmentioned in the cherished Bill of Rights of individual freedoms. (Women) were a special kind of property, not quite like houses or beasts of burden yet not quite people. They could not be party to law suits, could not offer legal testimony, could not make contracts, could not own property, and could not buy or sell goods or land.

Elizabeth Gould Davis
The First Sex

2. Abigail Adams to John Adams See quotes in
Feminism, The Essential Historical Writings p.3-4

3. Always bear in mind that boys are naturally wiser than you. Regard them as intellectual beings, who have access to certain sources of knowledge of which you are deprived, and seek to derive all the benefits you can from their peculiar attainments and experiences... Consider the loss of a ball or a party, for the sake of making the evening pass pleasantly for your brothers at home, as a small sacrifice.

Mrs. John Farrar
The Young Lady's Friend 1847

4. Religion is a gift of God to bring the world back from its revolt and sin...hers is a pious mind. Her confiding nature leads her more readily than men to accept the pro-offered grace of the Gospel.

Dr. Charles Meigs

...a really sensible woman feels her dependence, she does what she can, but she is conscious of her inferiority and therefore grateful for support.

Mrs. Sanford

...woman should adapt herself to the peculiarities of her husband. Nature had made him the strongest, he is superior by the consent of mankind, the gospel, the laws, customs and nature. Woman should therefore cultivate a cheerful and happy submission.

Samuel Jennings
The Married Lady's Companion

Domesticity dominated the fireside and is the greatest guard of society against the excesses of human passions. Young Ladies Class Book

Embroidery improved one's taste, knitting improved one's serenity and economy. A lady should appear to think well of books rather than speak well of them.

Mrs. Sigoury

The American female is left almost completely to her own guidance. She does not display innocent grace, or childish timidity, she is mistress of herself. Education teaches the art of combating the passions of the human heart, to defend her virtue and enhance her strength of character. It sees the corruption of the world and trains her to shun it. A democratic education is indispensable to protect women from the dangers of democratic institutions and the manners around them. This independence lasts until marriage. The wife has stricter obligations, the home of her husband is as a cloister. She must sacrifice her pleasures as is seldom demanded in Europe. She has learned to give up her independence without a struggle as a sacrifice. Reason tells her that the sources of married woman's happiness are home and husband. Division of duties between man and woman is along two distinct paths. Woman does not have outside concerns, conduct business or engage in political life. Neither does she engage in rough labor nor physical exertions. The natural head of the conjugal association is the man and the object of democracy is to regulate and legalize his necessary powers. Woman takes pride in her voluntary surrender of her own will. Although confined to domestic circles, she holds a loftier position and feels herself superior to European woman.

Alexis de Tocqueville
Democracy in America 1835

5. In the spring of 1852 my father decided to emigrate to Oregon. My invalid mother expostulated in vain; she and nine of us children were stowed away in ox-wagons, where for six months we made our home, cooking food and washing dishes around campfires, sleeping at night in the wagons, and crossing many streams upon wagon-beds, rigged as ferry-boats. When our weary line of march had reached the Black Hills of Wyoming my mother became a victim to the dreadful epidemic, cholera, that devastated the emigrant trains in that never-to-be-forgotten year, and after a few hours' illness her weary spirit was called to the skies. We made her a grave in the solitudes of the eternal hills and again took up our line of march, "too sad to talk, too dumb to pray." But ten weeks after, our Willie, the baby, was buried in the sands of the Burnt River mountains.

I, if not washing, scrubbing, churning or nursing the baby was preparing their meals in our lean-to kitchen. To bear two children in two and a half years from my marriage day, to make thousands of pounds of butter every year for market, not including what was used in our free hotel at home; to sew and cook and wash and iron; to bake and clean and stew and fry; to be, in short, a general pioneer drudge, with never a penny of my own, was not pleasant business for an erstwhile schoolteacher.

Abigail Scott Duniway
Pathbreaking: The Story of a Pioneer

6. The whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them, and to make life sweet and agreeable to them--- these are the duties of women at all times and what should be taught them from their infancy.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau
Emile (French philosopher)

7. Oberlin's attitude was that women's high calling was to be the mothers of the race, and that they should stay within that special sphere in order that future generations should not suffer from the want of devoted and undistracted mother care. If women became lawyers, ministers, physicians, lecturers, politicians or any sort of "public character", the home would suffer from neglect....

Washing the men's clothes, caring for their rooms, serving them at table, listening to their orations but themselves remaining respectfully silent in public assemblages, the Oberlin co-eds were being prepared for intelligent motherhood and a properly subservient wifehood.

Lucy Stone
Oberlin co-ed

FACTORY WORK

"Spinster," worker in the textile mills of Lowell, Mass., in the 1830's.¹

At the time the Lowell cotton mills were started, the caste of the factory girl was the lowest among the employments of women. In England and in France, particularly, great injustice had been done to her real character. She was represented as subjected to influences that must destroy her purity and self-respect. In the eyes of her overseer she was but a brute, a slave, to be beaten, pinched and pushed about. It was to overcome this prejudice that such high wages had been offered to women that they might be induced to become mill-girls, in spite of the opprobrium that still clung to this degrading occupation. At first only a few came; others followed, and in a short time the prejudice against factory labor wore away, and the Lowell mills became filled with blooming and energetic New England women. They were naturally intelligent, had mother wit, and they fell easily into the ways of their new life....

The early mill-girls were of different ages. Some (like the writer) were not over ten years of age; a few were in middle life, but the majority were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. The very young girls were called "doffers". They "doffed", or took off, the full bobbins from the spinning-frames, and replaced them with empty ones. These mites worked about fifteen minutes every hour and the rest of the time was their own. When the overseer was kind they were allowed to read, knit, or go outside the mill-yard to play. They were paid two dollars a week. The working hours of all the girls extended from five o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening, with one-half hour each, for breakfast and dinner. Even the doffers were forced to be on duty nearly fourteen hours a day. This was the greatest hardship in the lives of these children. Several years later a ten-hour law was passed, but not until long after some of these little doffers were old enough to appear before the legislative committee on the subject (in 1847), and plead, by their presence, for a reduction of the hours of labor....

One of the first strikes that ever took place in this country was in Lowell in 1836. When it was announced that the wages were to be cut down, great indignation was felt, and it was decided to strike or "turn out" en masse. This was done. The mills were shut down, and the girls went from their several corporations in procession to the grove on Chapel Hill, and listened to incendiary speeches from some early labor reformers.

It is hardly necessary to say that, so far as practical results are concerned, this strike did no good.

The corporation would not come to terms. The girls were soon tired of holding out, and they went back to their work at the reduced rate of wages. The ill-success of this early attempt at resistance on the part of the wage element seems to have made a precedent for the issue of many succeeding strikes....

¹This excerpt cited in Miriam Schneir, Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings. Vintage, 1972.

WHITHER THE FAMILY? PART II

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Little, Brown & Co., 34 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. 02106. Demos, John. "The American Family in Past Time" in Gruenbaum & Christ, Contemporary Marriage: Bond and Bondage, to be published in early 1976.

By the end of the Eighteenth Century it was clear that American family life had been considerably transformed. Some elements of the transformation have been sketched in CR-J: the break in the first web of connections between the family and the larger community; the dispersion of the household group, with the young increasingly inclined to seek their fortune in a new setting; the improvement in the status of women; and the erosion of parental authority.

The pattern of the settlement era was not revived in any specific terms, but, broadly speaking, some of the trends discussed above were now reversed. Thus, for example, women's status began to decline again in certain respects; new attempts were made to subject children to stern discipline; and sexual mores swung back into a more restrictive mold. Above all, there developed a powerful movement to endow the family as such with new and deeper meaning.

The process was evident, first of all, in the growth after 1800 of a new literary genre, extolling the blessings of home and hearth in rapturous detail. Books of "domestic advice" fairly gushed from the presses, and their readership expanded dramatically. Trite and sentimental as they seem today, one can hardly doubt their salience for their own time.

Their simple message, endlessly repeated, was the transcendent importance of family life as the fount of all the tender virtues in life. Love, kindliness, altruism, self-sacrifice, peace, harmony, good order: All reposed here behind the sacred portals of home. Here, and nowhere else—for it was widely agreed that the same virtues were severely threatened in the world at large. Indeed, if the home should give way, human life would be reduced to the level of the jungle. We should note well this assumed disjunction between home and the life of the individual family on the one hand, and the "outside world" on the other, for it was truly fundamental to many aspects of Nineteenth Century culture. Hitherto perceived as complementary to one another, the two spheres were increasingly presented in the light of adversaries.

The Pull of "Home"

Right here the family would play a pivotal role. The vision of worldly gain, the cultivation of the "go-ahead" spirit (a favorite period phrase), was enormously invigorating, to be sure; but it also raised a specter of chaos, of individual men devouring each other in the struggle for success. Somewhere, the old values—especially the social values—had to be safely enshrined. One needed some traditional moorings, some emblem of softness and selflessness to counter the intense thrust of personal striving that characterized the age. There had to be a place to come in out of the storm occasionally, a place that assured both repose and renewal. That place, lavishly affirmed from all sides, was Home.

Footed at the center of Home stood the highly sentimentalized figure of Woman. It was she who represented and maintained the tender virtues. Men, of course, had to be out in the world, getting their hands dirty in all sorts of ways; indeed, it was precisely because of this that their women must remain free of contamination.

"True Womanhood"

The literature of the time shows a consistent preoccupation with the career of the well-meaning but sorely pressed male, deeply involved in the work of the world, yet holding ever before his eyes the saintly image of the lady in his life. It was she—to quote from a popular sermon—"who, like a guardian angel, watches over his interests, warns him against dangers, comforts him under trial; and by her pious, assiduous, and attractive deportment, constantly endeavors to render him more virtuous, more useful, more honourable, and more happy." Such a creature was "a pearl beyond price," a fit centerpiece in what has been called "the cult of True Womanhood."

This posture of admiration—almost of reverence—contrasts sharply with the imputations of deviousness and inconstancy found in most earlier assessments of women. But it would be quite erroneous to infer from such flattering rhetoric any genuine improvement in women's status. In fact, the Nineteenth Century American woman, when compared to her grandmothers in colonial times, had given up a great deal.

For example, women could no longer be permitted to work outside the home (except among the poorest classes, where the issue was simple survival). Their position in life was defined in terms of a purity directly opposed to everything characteristic of the larger world. Thus the domestic hearth was both their altar, and, from another perspective, their prison. As one scholar has aptly written, Nineteenth Century American woman was "a hostage in the home." And, like all hostages, she was not free to come and go as she pleased.

Outlet in the Church

Even within the home her influence was sharply circumscribed. A husband's authority was supposed to be absolute in all major family decisions. By contrast, a wife's authority was exerted entirely by way of symbolism. Indeed, her great virtue was submissiveness and obedience to the will of her spouse, and her central role was that of comforter. (Here is a random sampling of titles of contemporary essays on the subject: "Woman, Man's Best Friend," "Woman, the Greatest Social Benefit," "Woman, a Being to Come Home To," "The Wife, Source of Comfort and Spring of Joy.") In all this one absolutely basic assumption seems clear: Women could not live for themselves. Their function was to provide moral uplift for everyone else with whom they came in contact—chiefly their husbands and children. Meanwhile no one wished to consider what they might do on their own account and for their own reasons.

There was a single exception to the rule that women must not be active outside their homes. The churches of this era had launched a

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vast program of humanitarian reforms, and looked to their female membership for day-to-day support. Few people could object when women involved themselves in distributing Bibles or encouraging missionary work or planning orphanages and almshouses, for here was a plausible extension of their inherent moral role and influence. But problems arose when they crossed a critical boundary and began to participate in more obviously political branches of reform.

It was one thing for women to go about their neighborhoods raising money to send clergymen to convert the heathen in India or Africa; it was quite another thing to have them making speeches before antislavery conventions.

Feminism Begins

The latter was too much a public activity; it was verging on the "outside world" that could only sully a woman's purity. Yet for some women, the lines drawn between these various forms of humanitarian work did not seem altogether clear. And, for at least a few of them, there were disturbing parallels between the slavery of the Negro and the position of their own sex. It was no coincidence that the first important advocates for women's rights were closely associated with abolitionism.

In its beginnings organized feminism was very much a Nineteenth Century phenomenon; and its end, of course, is not yet in sight. This complex and important movement cannot be described here, but certain of its general characteristics deserve at least brief notice.

It was not, at first, primarily about the right to vote; it was much more centrally about the right of women to work outside the home. The early feminists despised all the adoring rhetoric on woman-in-the-home; they sought to expose this myth of domesticity for what it really was. But so entrenched was the pattern against which they fought that it was many years before they could make significant headway.

Status of Women

Thus the initial phases of feminism are best seen not as a sign of improving status for women, but rather as a cry of protest against intolerable confinement. It is a striking symbol of all this that the so-called "bloomer" fashion was a matter of some importance in the eyes of the early feminists. Their attempt to free women from the literally suffocating network of stays, corsets, and hoop skirts that formed the conventional dress of the time directly paralleled their attack on the figuratively suffocating environment of Home.

And yet the relation of feminism to the cult of true womanhood was not entirely antipodal. In fact, in some ways cultural stereotypes nourished the growth of the movement. The idea of feminine purity was distinctly two-edged; in the hands of conventional moralists, it helped to rationalize the confinement of women to a domestic role, but could also serve an opposite purpose. If women were inherently more virtuous than men, should they not use their influence to purify politics,

business, the world of public affairs?

This question was resolved, for particular individuals, on a variety of different grounds; much depended on one's view of politics, reform, religion, and history. Here lay the origins of a dilemma that has pervaded the growth of feminism ever since. Are women to have equal status because they are similar to men (in all essential particulars), or because they are generically different (and in some ways superior)? Is their full participation in public life to be justified on the basis of a humanity shared with men or of some sex-defined "specialness" (that might enable them to contribute to society in distinctive ways)? Many of the early feminists were logically tied to the former position, but emotionally inclined toward the latter. To this extent, one can regard them as True Women—dressed in bloomers.

The Stereotype of Men

The True Woman of the Nineteenth Century was only one-half of the most thorough-going system of sex-role differentiation ever seen in American history. It goes without saying that men, too, were typed to the point of caricature.

As previously mentioned, they belonged pre-eminently to the world of affairs. And if this was their sphere, it called forth an appropriate character, which included strength, cunning, inventiveness, endurance—a whole range of traits henceforth defined as exclusively "masculine." The impact of these definitions on family life was truly profound. The man of the family now became the breadwinner in a special sense. Each day he went away to work; each night he returned. His place of work no longer bore any relation to his home environment. What he did at work was something of which other family members knew little or nothing. His position as husband and father was altered, if not compromised; he was now a more distant, less nurturant figure, but he had special authority, too, because he performed those mysterious activities that maintained the entire household.

Strains of Family Life

Given all the existing conventions, it is hard to imagine that many married couples were gratified in their most intimate relations. But sex was merely an extreme case of a pattern that affected every sort of contact between men and women. When their appropriate spheres were so rigorously separated, when character itself appeared to be so gender-specific, what was the likelihood of meaningful communication? Gone was that sense of instinctive sharing, that implicit sexual symmetry, which had suffused the full range of experience in premodern society. Instead there was a new mode of partnership—formal, self-conscious, contrived. Men and women came together from opposite directions, as uncertain allies.

Understandably, many of the alliances so formed did not survive. Divorce rates, which rose steadily after mid-century, barely hinted at the true dimensions of the problem. For every marriage that was ended in court, unrecorded others dissolved through tacit agreement between the parties themselves or through simple desertion of one by the other. It is worth

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noticing, in this connection, the development of the notorious "tramp" phenomenon. Demoralized and destitute wanderers, their numbers mounting into the hundreds of thousands, tramps can be fairly characterized as men who had run away from their wives. (They had, of course, run away from much else besides.) Their presence was mute testimony to the strains that tugged at the very core of American family life.

Children as People

Many observers noted that the tramps had created a virtual society of their own, based on a principle of single-sex companionship. But in this they followed an important trend in the culture at large. The early decades of the Nineteenth Century witnessed an extraordinary proliferation of "voluntary associations" —clubs, lodges, unions, "circles," and the like. Men and women, even boys and girls, joined with groups of their peers for reasons that ran a wide gamut from frivolity, to self-improvement, to social reform.

In a great many instances, membership was restricted to one sex or the other. The Elks, the Mothers' Association, the volunteer firemen, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, all shared this same characteristic: Quite apart from their specific activities, they offered companionship with one's own (sexual) kind. Increasingly, such companionship seemed preferable to what could be found at home. The growth of these organizations was, then, another sign of a deficit in family life, and particularly in the relations of men and women.

Sex-role differentiation was paralleled by an increasing sensitivity to difference of age. And of all such differences those pertaining to childhood received the greatest attention.

Now, for the first time in Western history, the child stood out as a creature inherently different from adults—someone with his own needs, talents, and character.

Around 1800, for example, children began to appear in clothing that was distinctly their own. They were also spending more and more time at play among groups of their peers. Of similar import was the development, toward mid-century, of a system of Sunday schools. (Here was explicit recognition that the religious needs of the child were special and different, and that it was quite inappropriate to have him sit through regular church services with his parents.)

A Special Aspect

But perhaps the most telling evidence of this trend was the astonishing growth, and distinctive content, of popular literature on child rearing. To be sure, there had always been some books of this type in circulation, but they were mostly imports from England or France, and were decidedly casual in tone. Their chief concern was manners—how children should behave in a variety of social situations.

The Nineteenth Century literature, by contrast, dealt with the development of the child's character in a much deeper sense. Moreover, it was an exclusively native production; foreign models no longer seemed appropriate

to the American scene. In part, this expressed a new spirit of truculent nationalism, but it was something else as well. For one feels in these works a note of extreme urgency—a reflection, presumably, of the fright and puzzlement of many parents faced with the task of raising children in the brave new world of Nineteenth Century America.

There was, first of all, the factor of massive social and economic change. The Nineteenth Century spanned the transition from an agrarian small-town social order to one that was characterized by large-scale industrialism and urbanization. But the view of the child that made him virtually a miniature adult was particularly appropriate—perhaps only appropriate—in a agrarian setting.

A Generation Gulf

On the farm he could, and did, take part in the work of the place from his earliest years; most likely, too, he would grow up to be a farmer himself. Thus it made sense to regard him as a scaled-down version of his father. Consider, by way of contrast, the position of a city-child in the mid-Nineteenth Century. His father works in an office or factory on the other side of town; the child himself knows hardly any of the details. He has no economic function in the household whatsoever. Moreover, his own future course—including his adult vocation—is shrouded in uncertainty. The diversified economy of the city opens up many possibilities, and there is no reason to assume that what he eventually does will bear any relation at all to what his father presently does. In short, circumstances seem to isolate the child in a profound way, and to create a gulf between the generations that had not been there before.

The Parent-Child Bond

If there was one outcome toward which all of the above trends seemed to point, it was a deep intensification of the parent-child bond—or, to be more precise, of the mother-child bond. The careful rearing of children was, after all, the most important activity of the True Woman. From virtuous homes came preachers, philanthropists, presidents ("All that I am I owe to my angel mother"—a favorite period cliche); from disorderly ones came thieves and drunkards. There was no doubting either the impressionable nature of the young or the decisive impact of the domestic environment.

Yet if children were so deeply subject to the influence of their parents, there was also an opposite effect. A familiar character in novels from the period was the "errant" or "ungrateful" child. Although raised by solicitous parents in a morally scrupulous home, he yielded in later life to worldly temptation, and filled his days with crime and debauchery. When reports of his conduct filtered back, his parents were stricken with grief, and one (or both) took ill and died. This plot line lays bare an innermost nerve of family life in Nineteenth Century America. Father, mother, and children were locked in a circle of mutual responsibility, and the stakes were literally life-and-death.

VALUES, IDEALS AND ECONOMICS

I

Sharon Johnson

The Industrial Revolution has been a potent force in creating the conditions surrounding woman's changing position in the 19th and 20th centuries. The changes from a craft to a money economy, from homecraft to factory work as well as the transportation revolution, separated the home from the job for the first time in history. Increasingly in the 18th and 19th centuries, the family as a separate entity emerged, increasing the physical as well as the psychic load on the woman and at the same time, narrowing the sphere of the woman to the home. To add to the confusion, men began to take over jobs that had traditionally been woman's work- factory made clothing, commerical laundries, and bakeries- necessitating a redefinition of the division of labor.

Jacksonian individualism of the 1830's applied only to men and it had a dark side. Man's world was full of greed, uncertainty, and was impersonal and opportunistic. Woman's role was to protect the home from this evil influence, to add an element of anti-competition, of personal virtue and to preserve Christian virtue. By the 1830's spheres were sharply defined; man's sphere was the world and all its activities. It was granted that men's activities varied according to his potential, men lived for themselves, finding self-fulfillment in their individual talents. Woman's sphere was the home, or the extension of the home in the Church or through charity work. Her role was defined by her sex, she lived for others, to care for her husband and child.

Barbara Welter in The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860, identifies four cardinal virtues; piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. The first is the core of religion, a gift of God to "bring the world back from its revolt and sin." Dr. Charles Meigs explained woman's religious future to his medical students, "hers is a pious mind. Her confiding nature leads her more readily than men to accept the pro-offered grace of the Gospel." Religious work was valued as it did not take woman away from her "proper sphere".

Purity put woman on a pedestal. She was to be protected at any time by any man; that was his recognized duty. The "fallen angel" was unworthy of her sex; madness or death was her inevitable lot. Her marriage night was the single greatest event in a woman's life wherein she bestowed her greatest treasure in a spirit of innocence.

Submission was the third virtue; a good wife was a passive wife. Mrs. Sanford stated that "a really sensible woman feels her dependence, she does what she can, but she is conscious of her inferiority and therefore grateful for support." From the pulpit came the message that the power of woman is dependence, woman fulfills her responsibility through self sacrifice, by imparting morality and Christian love. This is her contribution to society. Mrs. Sigoury, however, insisted that women were separate but equal. It did not imply inferiority for the woman to submerge her self in her husband. Samuel Jennings, writing in a ladies etiquette book said that "woman should adapt herself to the peculiarities of her husband. Nature had made him the strongest, he is superior by the consent of mankind, the gospel, the laws, customs and nature. Woman should

therefore cultivate a cheerful and happy submission." 2

The final virtue, domesticity "dominated the female and is the greatest guard of society against the excesses of human passion", according to the Young Ladies Class Book. Woman should dispense comfort and cheer, should nurse the sick and through her usefulness and accomplishments, she would increase her influence. Needlework was an appropriate occupation of women according to Mrs. Sigourney. "Embroidery improved one's taste, knitting improved one's serenity and economy." Reading novels interfered with "serious piety" and would bring a woman to ruin as she was susceptible to persuasion and would unsettle her true pursuits. "A lady should appear to think well of books rather than speak well of them."

This stereotype was perpetuated through the ladies magazines, novels, etiquette books; and with the spread of transportation, this ideal spread from the Eastern cities to the rural areas and ultimately affected even the frontier areas with their great tradition of equality.

Alexis de Tocqueville summed up his view of American women in Democracy in America. "The American female is left almost completely to her own guidance. She does not display innocent grace, or childish timidity, she is mistress of herself. Education teaches the art of combating the passions of the human heart, to defend her virtue and enhance her strength of character. It sees the corruption of the world and trains her to shun it. A democratic education is indispensable to protect women from the dangers of democratic institutions and the manners around them. This independence lasts until marriage. The wife has stricter obligations, the home of her husband is as a cloister. She must sacrifice her pleasures as is seldom demanded in Europe. She has learned to give up her independence without a struggle as a sacrifice. Reason tells her that the sources of married woman's happiness are home and husband. Division of duties between man and woman is along two distinct paths. Woman does not have outside concerns, conduct business, or engage in political life. Neither does she engage in rough labor nor physical exertions. The natural head of the conjugal association is the man and the object of democracy is to regulate and legalize his necessary powers. Woman takes pride in her voluntary surrender of her own will. Although confined to domestic circles, she holds a loftier position and feels herself superior to European women."

The Victorian image of the late 1800's built upon this foundation of the woman's sphere. Her duty was to "embellish the home, to make happy the lives of those near and dear ones who dwell within." Outside interests were defined in the interest of the home. As middle class women increasingly gained more leisure due to the Industrial Revolution and immigrant help, church activities and charitable works grew. By 1889, the General Federation of Women's Clubs began to study literature, science and arts. As the multiethnic, urban society demanded services, the idea of woman's social duty became incorporated into her "sphere." Outside duties were defined in the interest of the home. In order to preserve family life as an institution, it was necessary to create a healthy race. Thus women's clubs developed a social conscience, and crime, temperance, child labor, all were encompassed into her sphere. Women such as Jane Addams helped to alter the definition of woman; however, most of these unusual women were either widowed or unmarried so there was no role conflict involved.

Another strong influence on woman's place was the acceptance of Darwin's theory that biology is destiny. Women were at the mercy of their reproductive processes and the passage of the 1873 Comstock laws forbidding contraception information fit into this theory. Lacking medical knowledge of their own bodies, disembodied, sexless and devoid of passion, women were defined by their reproductive functions. In addition, it was believed that since women had smaller brains, they were intellectually inferior. The scarcity of women geniuses was often submitted as evidence of this inferiority. It is interesting to note that the great women writers of this period, George Sand, George Eliot, Currer Bell (all of whom felt the necessity of taking male names) were childless. Charlotte Perkins Gilman wondered to herself how many great books were not written because the mother was busy diapering the baby.

The Industrial Revolution, which was the basis of this cult of motherhood and domesticity, also bred contradiction and conflict. The natural byproduct of man's leaving the home to work, was that women would follow the men out of the home and into the work world. At the same time that woman's sphere was narrowing to the home, it is ironic that thousands of young women were flocking from the farms to the mills at Lowell and Waltham. Here they gained their first experience with economic independence which was to be the center of conflict up to the present time. However, since most young women worked for only a few years and returned to marry and establish homes, the ideal and work could be reconciled by insisting that these girls worked for familial reasons, to aid ailing parents or to send male siblings to school.

The expanding industry and technology of the late 1800's opened new vistas for the working girl. Typists, bookkeepers, teachers, nurses, telephone operators, all demanded a change in woman's image. How could she succeed if she was frail, incompetent, undependable and emotional? Ideals were undermined but not overthrown. Again, most working women were young and worked only a few years, although this ignored the fact that many women, immigrants, and wives of laborers had to work to survive. But the assumption was that all women were working for pin money, that their earnings were secondary as some man, father or brother, was supporting them. It was accepted that their work held no future as their natural interest was in the home. Otherwise the sexual stereotype was being violated, and the career woman was seen as unchaste, aggressive, having a "manly soul", and "surpassing her sex".

APRIL 11 1941

From Eliza W. Farpham, Life in Prairie Town; or, the Farphams' Brothers, 1840, pp. 36-43.

The strange character of the feeling manifested by the husband, made me very anxious of drawing him into an expression of it in words before he left us, and as their landing-place would probably be reached on the third morning, I availed myself of a chance meeting on the shady quard in the afternoon, to engage him in conversation. A few words about the height of the water, the tinter, and the prairies, served the purpose.

"You are going to become a prairie farmer?" I said.

"No, I've been one afore, I've got a fire up the river hour that I've grappled twice n'ready; there's a good cabin on it, and it's about as good a place, I reckon, as can be found in these diggins."

"Then you built a cage," I said, "and went back for your fire to put in it!"

He looked at me, and his face underwent a contortion, of which words will convey but a faint idea. It was a mingled expression of pride and contempt, faintly disguised by a smile that was intended to hide them.

"Why, I don't know what you Yankees call a bird," he replied, "but I call her a woman. I shouldn't make much account of havin a bird in my cabin, but a good, stout woman I should calculate was worth somethin. She can pay her way, and do a handsome thing besides, helpin me on the farm."

Think of that, ye belles and fair-handed maidens! How was my sentiment reliuked!

"Well, we'll call her a woman, which is, in truth, much the more rational appellation. You intend to make her useful as well as ornamental to your home?"

"Why, yes; I calculate 'tain't of much account to have a woman if she ain't no use. I lived up hyur two year, and had to have another man's woman do all my washin and mendin and so on, and at last I got tired o' totin my plunder back and forth, and thought I might as well get a woman of my own. There's a heap of things beside these, that she'll do better than I can, I reckon; every man ought to have a woman to do his cookin' and such like, kase it's easier for them than it is for us. They take to it kind o' naturally."

I could scarcely believe that there was no more human vein in the animal, and determined to sound him a little deeper.

"And this bride of yours is the one, I suppose, that you thought of all the whil you were making your farm and building your cabin? You have, I dare say, made a litt garden, or set out a tree, or done something of the kind to please her alone?"

"No, I never allowed to get a woman till I found my neighbors went ahead of me with 'em, and then I shoulda got one right thar, but there wasn't any stout ones in our settlement, and it takes so long to make up to a stranger, that I aliovved I mought as well go back and see the old folks, and git somebody that I know'd thar to come with me."

"And had you no choice made among your acquaintances? was there no one person of whom you thought more than another?" said I.

"Yas, there was a gal I used to know that was stouter and bigger than this one. I should a got her if I could, but she'd got married and gone off over the Mississippi, somewhar."

The cold-hearted fellow! it was a perfectly business matter with him.

"Did you select this one solely on account of her size?" said I.

"Why, pretty much," he replied; "I reckon women are some like horses and oxen, the biggest can do the most work, and that's what I want one for."

"And is that all?" I asked, more disgusted at every word. "Do you care nothing about a pleasant face to meet you when you go home from the field, or a soft voice to speak kind words when you are sick, or a gentle friend to converse with you in your leisure hours?"

"Why, as to that," he said. "I reckon a woman ain't none the worse for talk because she's stout and able to work. I calculate she'll mind her own business pretty much, and if she does she won't talk a great deal to me; that ain't what I got her for."

"But suppose when you get home she should be unhappy, and want to see her parents and other friends?"

"Why I don't allow she will; I didn't get her for that...I shall give her enough to eat and wear, and I don't calculate she'll be very daunsey if she gets that; if she is she'll git shet of it after a while."

My indignation increased at every word.

"But you brought her away from her home to be treated as a human being, not as an animal or machine. Marriage is a moral contract, not a mere bargain of business. The parties promise to study each other's happiness, and endeavor to promote it. You could not marry a woman as you could buy a washing machine, though you might want her for the same purpose. If you take the machine there is no moral obligation incurred, except to pay for it. If you take the woman, there is. Before you entered into this contract I could have shown you a machine that would have answered your purpose admirably. It would have washed and ironed all your clothes, and when done, stood in some out-of-the-way corner till it was wanted again. You would have been under no obligation, not even to feed and clothe it, as you now are. It would have been the better bargain, would it not?"

"Why that would be according to what it cost in the fust place; but it wouldn't be justly the same thing as havin' a wife, I reckon, even if it was give to you."

"No, certainly not; it would free you from many obligations that you are under to a wife" (it was the first time, by the way, he had used the word), "and leave you to pursue your own pleasure without seeing any sorrowful or sour faces about you."

"Oh, I calculate sour faces won't be of much account to me. If a woman 'll mind her business, she may look as thunderin' as a live airthquake, I shan't mind it...I reckon the Yankees may do as they like about them things, and I shall do jist the same. I don't think a woman's of much account anyhow, if she can't help herself a little and me too."

"If the Yankee women was raised up like the women here aar, they'd cost a heap les and be worth more."

...I turned away, saying that I trusted his wife would agree with him in these opinions, or they might lead to some unpleasant differences.

"Oh, as to that," said he, "I reckon her 'pinions won't go fur anyhow; she'll think pretty much as I do, or not at all."

FRONTIER WOMEN

Condensed from 'Deadlier Than the Male' by John C. Evey. Copyright 1965, American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc. Reprinted by permission from American Heritage (June 1965).

When I first met Elk Hollering In The Water on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana in 1941, she was a frail little old lady in her middle seventies. She was short and she was spare. I doubt if she ever weighed as many as one hundred pounds. Nothing about her appearance would remind one of artists' conceptions of the legendary Amazons. Nevertheless, Elk Hollering In The Water was a combat veteran in her own right, a fighting member of the most aggressive tribe of the upper Missouri. As a lively teen-ager she had accompanied her stalwart husband, Bear Chief, on raids against enemy tribes. And she had won honors by "taking things from the enemy."

Aged men of her tribe, men who had journeyed on many war excursions against the Crows, Assiniboins, Flatheads, and Sioux, readily acknowledged Elk Hollering In The Water's claim. Furthermore, they assured me that womanly participation in what we commonly regard as the man's game of war was not considered abnormal conduct in the days of intertribal conflict on the upper Missouri prior to the middle 1880's. Young childless women sometimes joined their husbands on fatiguing and dangerous horse-stealing raids upon distant enemy villages in preference to remaining at home praying and worrying about the safety of their mates. Sometimes small war parties travelled two or three hundred miles before their scouts located an enemy camp. Usually the women cooked for the entire party and performed other menial tasks during the outward journey. But they also took active parts in the dawn attacks on enemy camps and helped to drive the stolen horses homeward. Sometimes the fleeing raiders were overtaken by angry enemy warriors bent upon recapturing their pilfered livestock. Then the horse thieves, female and male, had to fight for their lives as well as for their newly acquired property.

Women warriors also appeared among the Crows, south of the Yellowstone. The Crows were a small tribe, but they were wealthier in horses than any other Indians on the upper Missouri. They fought valiantly to protect their herds from frequent raids by the Blackfeet from the north and the mighty Sioux from the east. To protect themselves from extermination by those more powerful tribes, the Crows made alliances with the white men.

Some thirty years ago or more an aged Crow woman, Pretty Shield, told Frank Bird Linderman of a brave Crow girl who aided General Crook against the Sioux and Cheyenne under Crazy Horse in the historic Battle of the Rosebud on June 17, 1876, only a week prior to the Custer debacle on the Little Big Horn. The Other Magpie was her name. She was wild and she was pretty. But she had no man of her own. When some 175 Crow warriors rode off to join Three Stars (General Crook) in his campaign against the hostile Sioux and Cheyenne, The Other Magpie went along. She had recently lost a brother at the hands of the Sioux, and she was eager for revenge. In the Battle of the Rosebud, the Crow scouts bore the brunt of the hostile Indian attack. Many of these scouts carried improved .50 caliber breech-loading rifles. But The Other Magpie's only weapons were her belt knife and a long, thin willow coup stick. Yet she counted

coup on a live Sioux warrior and later took his scalp--one of only eleven scalps taken by the Crows in the day's bitter fighting.

The greatest of all the women warriors among the upper Missouri tribes lived among the Crows in the middle of the nineteenth century. She was Woman Chief, not a Crow Indian by birth. She was a Gros Ventre girl who, at the age of about ten, was captured by the Crows. The Crow family that adopted her soon found that she showed little interest in helping the women with their domestic tasks. She preferred to shoot birds with a bow and arrow, to guard the family horses, and to ride horseback fast and fearlessly. Later, she learned to shoot a gun accurately, and she became the equal if not the superior of any of the young men in hunting on foot or on horseback.

She grew taller and stronger than most women. She could carry a deer or bighorn home from the hunt on her back. She could kill four or five buffalo in a single chase, butcher them, and load them on pack horses without assistance. Yet, despite her prowess in men's activities, she always dressed like a woman. Although she was rather good-looking, she didn't attract the fancy of young men. After her foster father died she took charge of his lodge and family, acting as both father and mother to his children.

Her first war experience was gained in a defensive action outside the white men's trading post in the Crow country. A Blackfoot war party approached the post and called upon the traders and Crows to come out and parley. This young woman alone had the nerve to answer their invitation. And when the treacherous enemy charged upon her, she killed one and wounded two others before running to safety in the traders' fort. This deed of daring marked her as a woman of unusual courage in the eyes of the Crows. They composed songs in her honor telling of her bravery, and sang them in their camps.

A year later she led her first war party against the Blackfoot; seventy horses were stolen. She succeeded in killing and scalping one Blackfoot and in capturing the gun of another. Her continued success as a war leader won her greater and greater honors among the Crows until she gained a place in the council of chiefs of the tribe, ranking third in a band of 160 lodges. Thereafter she was known as Woman Chief. This was a station and a title never before known among Crow women.

HARRIET TUBMAN: THE MOSES OF HER PEOPLE

1

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Harriet Tubman's name has not been lost to us--it appears in history texts defined by such epithets as "Liberator," "Underground Railroad Conductor," and "Famous Negro"--but the credit Tubman received in her time and in our own has never been commensurate with her work, her vision, or her zeal.

Slave owners on the Eastern Shore of Maryland were not certain who "Moses" was, and for a time they did not know if the "black wretch" was male or female. During the 1850s a raider with the Biblical code name struck their plantations by night and carried off large groups of slaves worth thousands of dollars. Record-breaking rewards were offered, but Harriet Tubman, "the Moses of her people," was never captured.

Tubman was an escaped slave, a hunted fugitive, and one of the most effective conductors on that secret route North called the Underground Railroad. Her life contains so many elements of high adventure that it might appear melodramatic to modern, cynical eyes. Her combination of religious mysticism and militancy might call to mind a black Joan of Arc, but she was neither an adventurer nor a saint.

In a time when being both black and female meant extreme oppression, Tubman was an activist obsessed with liberation, and she expressed her driving concern pragmatically. In the space of one decade, she made 19 forays into the South to rescue more than 300 people from slavery. She spoke for both the Anti-Slavery and Woman's Suffrage movements, and joined the Union Army during the Civil War, becoming the only woman in American military history to plan and personally conduct an armed expedition against enemy forces. She was unpaid for her work and spent the last part of her life in poverty.

Harriett Ross Tubman was born into slavery on Edward Brodas's plantation in Dorchester County, Maryland, about 1821. She was of pure African lineage, said to be descended from the warlike and rebellious Ashanti tribe. A homely, willful child, she was continually whipped for "insolence" as a nursemaid and domestic, and was later sent to work in the fields. Unusually short but stronger than most men, she split rails, carted heavy loads, and plowed. The hard labor prepared her for the physical endurance that would be essential to her later vocation.

Before she reached adulthood, Harriet saw her own sisters sold South and heard of Nat Turner's slave revolt in nearby Virginia. Her rebelliousness increased, and when she was a young woman, she deliberately stood between an overseer and an escaping slave. The enraged overseer hurled a heavy iron weight which struck Harriet in the head and nearly killed her. After months in a delirium she recovered, but her injury resulted in chronic narcolepsy, and for the rest of her life she was subject to sudden attacks of deep sleep from which no one could rouse her.

Always rebellious, she was further radicalized by this incident. She began to believe that God had called her to help her people, and she experienced visions which increased her growing sense of mission. Her activism was probably postponed some years by her marriage to John Tubman, a freed slave whom she deeply loved, and by an abortive attempt to buy her freedom. As a hired-out hand, she attempted to save a portion of her meager wages; but when it became evident that she could never save enough to purchase freedom, her thoughts turned seriously to escape. In 1849, she learned that she and her brother were to be sold South on a chain gang, and she finally resolved to escape with her brother and John.

John, however, was content in Maryland and forbade his wife to leave him. Her frightened brothers deserted her at the last moment. Harriet Tubman, placing personal freedom above her marriage, disappeared from the plantation alone one night.

She reached a woman in a nearby town who put her in touch with the Underground Railroad. The Railroad, a chain of hiding places, sustenance, and sometimes transportation for runaway slaves, was run by Quakers, freed slaves, and other sympathizers who were called "stationmasters" and "conductors." Aided by this illegal organization, Tubman made her way North. She crept through the woods at night, followed the North Star, and eventually crossed the line into free territory.

Tubman soon felt like a "stranger in a strange land. My home, after all, was in Maryland, because my father, my mother, my brothers, my sisters and friends were there But I was free and they should be free." She went to work as a cook to raise funds, then started South again. When she crossed the line into Maryland, her status became that of a hunted fugitive whose capture would mean death.

Back at home, John Tubman had remarried, but Harriet gradually rescued the rest of her family, simultaneously extending her mission beyond the personal level. She was a visionary who translated religious faith into action against the immediate enemy. Tubman could have actively joined other radicals in the North who were working politically and trying to translate conviction into legislative agitation, but she constantly chose action. Plagued by the constant pain in her head, hampered by her sleeping attacks, warned and motivated by her visions, she continued to lead large escape parties North. News of this female "Moses" who led people out of bondage traveled, and the slaves came to know her signals.

At night a voice softly singing "Go down Moses" might be heard near the slave quarters. A birdcall might sound. Inside the cabins the word would be passed: "Moses is here. Get ready." The next day the overseer would count several slaves missing.

A superb strategist, Tubman reconnoitered first, then struck on Saturday nights, because the machinery of pursuit could not begin until Monday. She hired blacks to rip down reward posters as soon as they went up, worked with the Railroad's "stationmasters," and knew how to backtrack South to confuse her pursuers.

Military discipline prevailed on her "train.", Babies were often

drugged to keep them from crying near town... exhausted or nervous men who begged to be left on the trail would find Tubman's gun in their backs. "Move or die," she would say. "Dead men tell no tales. Freedom ain't bought with dust." Anyone who was left behind could be found and tortured until information was revealed, and the secrecy surrounding her work was vital.

A woman of contradictions, she was gentle as well as tough. She carried the babies in baskets on her back, nursed feverish passengers with great tenderness, and turned no one away who wanted to escape. She often used her own money to purchase transportation through New York to Canada, because after the Fugitive Slave Act was passed in 1850, she said she "couldn't trust Uncle Sam" with her people. (The Act required Northern states to return all runaways to their Southern masters.)

Tubman's pattern established itself. She would work as a hotel cook in the North until she had enough money for her next trip, and then sneak into slave territory. She allowed neither the demanding work nor the Fugitive Slave Act to interfere with her mission. By 1857 Dorchester County was "plucked of slaves like a chicken of feathers," and she stated, 'I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger."

"Moses's" concern with liberty did not stop at slavery. In 1860, she was addressing Woman's Suffrage meetings from the same platform as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. She was restless on the speakers' platform, however, always preferring action. As she passed through Troy, New York, between speaking engagements, she took time to kidnap a fugitive slave out of a courtroom, started something of a street riot in the process, and was forced into temporary hiding when her name hit the headlines. Nonetheless, the fugitive was taken to Canada instead of back to his master, and the abolitionists said the coup was worth 100 speeches.

When the Civil War broke out, Harriet Tubman attempted to enlist in the Union Army. The right to fight for freedom in an official capacity was denied her, but Governor John Albion Andrew of Massachusetts arranged for her transportation to South Carolina, where she joined the Union forces.

She acted as a scout and spy, organized black troops, and nursed the wounded. On the night of June 2, 1863, under orders from General David Hunter, Tubman led a raid inland from Port Royal. With a hand-picked detachment of her own soldiers, she led gunboats up the Combahee River, burned plantations and commissaries, liberated more than 800 slaves, and incurred not a single casualty among her men. The slaves on shore were terrified until she passed the word that these were "Lincoln's gunboats." She described part of the scene of mass exodus and frantic scrambling toward her boats: "One woman was carrying on her head a kettle of rice still steaming from the fire, with a young'un hanging on behind, two or three more holding her dress, and down her back was a bag with a pig in it." Her raid, which was reported in both Confederate and Union newspapers, did much to prove the efficacy of the new black soldiers.

During this period she married a black Union soldier, but apparently

was never known by his name, which was Nelson Davis.

After the war, Harriet Tubman retired to Auburn, New York; exhausted, sick, and unpaid for her work. Unable to rest, she founded a home for the needy, supported two schools for blacks in the South, and followed the progress of the Woman's Suffrage Movement. Queen Victoria invited her to the court of England; but Tubman was an object of charity herself now, and couldn't accept. She was forced to raise money for her projects by selling her homemade root beer, pies, and her farm produce.

A quarter of a century after her service in the war, the government awarded her a meager pension of eight dollars a month, which was later increased to twenty dollars. She received the money because she was the widow of a Union soldier and not because of the services she herself had rendered.

Crippled and aging, Tubman remained interested in the cause of blacks and women, and in 1913, the year of her death, she sent a message to the Suffragists to "stand together." She died impoverished but surrounded by friends, and the city of Auburn erected a plaque to her memory.

WOMEN OF THE LOST CAUSE

Excerpted from Wiley, Bell I. Confederate Women, 1975. Reprinted by permission of Greenwood Press, 51 Riverside Avenue, Westport, Connecticut 06880.

"Hurrah for the ladies! They are the soul of the war," wrote an Alabama Confederate soldier to a kinsman in 1863. A similar view was expressed by an Englishman who toured America that same Civil War year, and who in a chapter on "Secesh Women" wrote: "I question whether either ancient or modern history can furnish an example of a conflict which was so much of a 'woman's war' as this. The bitterest, most vengeful of politicians in this ensanguined controversy are the ladies."

There can be no doubt of the correctness of these observations. Southern women were among the most ardent advocates of secession. And when hostilities erupted in the spring of 1861, mothers, wives and sweethearts with few exceptions, rallied to the support of the Southern cause.

Women put up a brave front when saying farewell to departing loved ones. An aristocratic lady of Fredericksburg wrote in her diary on June 8, 1861: "I saw some plain country people there telling their sons and husbands goodbye. I did not hear the first word of repining or grief, only encouragement to do their best and be of good service."

As recruits proceeded to war zones by train, as most of them did, they were cheered at every hamlet and town by crowds of admiring women. And at all stops along the way they were treated to food and drink by females of all ages.

Throughout the South young women showed their displeasure toward men who did not promptly volunteer for military service. Girls of Selma, Alabama, in response to an editor's suggestion, put on a "pout and sulk" campaign to stimulate volunteering and one of them broke her engagement to a suitor who was slow to enlist and sent him a skirt and a petticoat with the message: "Wear these or Volunteer."

Patriotic fervor of some women soared to such heights that they sought to take up arms in their own defense. A Georgia girl wrote in 1861 that she and her female friends had organized a company of home guards and that they were "all delighted with the idea of learning to shoot."

In a few instances women disguised themselves as men and accompanied their husbands or sweethearts to camp. Usually their sex was soon detected and they were sent home. But at least two wives-Mrs. L.M. Blalock (who enlisted as Samuel Blalock) and Mrs. Amy Clarke, had considerable service with their spouses. Sarah Morgan of Louisiana wrote in her diary the day the Yankees entered Baton Rouge: "Oh! if I was only a man! Then I would don breeches and slay them with a will! If some few women were in the ranks, they could set the men an example they would not blush to follow!"

Feminine patriots assisted the South's armed forces in numerous ways.

Many smuggled pistols, medicines, and other scarce items through the lines in their clothing or baggage. On August 29, 1861 Mary Chestnut noted in her diary: "All manner of things...come over the border under the huge hoop skirts now worn...not legs but arms are looked for under hoops."

Some women served as spies. Laura Radcliffe and Antonia Ford were informers for both Mosby and Stuart. Nancy Hart of West Virginia aided Stonewall Jackson in his Valley campaigns and after capture by the Federals made her escape by killing a Union guard. Rose Greenhow contributed to the Confederate victory at First Manassas by transmitting to General P.G.T. Beauregard information obtained in Washington concerning McDowell's projected advance. Some of the most effective of the feminine informers were very young. Sixteen-year-old Emma Sansom of Alabama in 1864 helped Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest capture Colonel A.D. Streight by directing him to a fort across Black Creek after the Federals had burned the bridge which the Confederate leader had planned to use in his pursuit. Forrest afterward wrote Emma a note of appreciation and the Alabama legislature gave her a medal. The most famous of the girl spies was Belle Boyd of Martinsburg, West Virginia, who at great risk rode up and down the Shenandoah Valley gleaning information about Federal operations and passing it on to Ashby, Stuart, and Jackson.

A few Southern women served as informers for the Union. Among them was the actress Pauline Cushman, a native of New Orleans, who in 1863 was arrested for espionage activities in Tennessee and given a death sentence. She escaped and during the latter part of the war achieved considerable popularity in the Northern states for her performances as a Yankee spy. Suspected of espionage but never arrested, was Elizabeth Van Lew, the daughter of a prominent Richmond merchant. Miss Van Lew befriended Federals imprisoned in the Confederate Capital and helped some of them escape. During the long siege of Petersburg she acted as informer for General Grant. When Grant became President he made Miss Van Lew postmaster of Richmond, a position she retained as long as he was in the White House.

Southern women also assisted the military effort by helping to care for sick and wounded soldiers. After great battles such as Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Malvern Hill, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Spotsylvania, when casualties were crowded into railway stations, schools, hotels, and churches, women of nearby communities provided them with nourishment, blankets, bandages, and other necessities and did all they could to make them comfortable. In many instances ladies took wounded or sick soldiers into their homes and cared for them until they recovered, died, or were transferred to military hospitals. Women of Atlanta, Chattanooga, Macon, and many other cities established and administered wayside homes where ailing or needy soldiers could obtain food, shelter, and rest as they traveled through the South.

Relatively few women served as full-time nurses or administrators in Confederate hospitals. This was due primarily to the generally accepted view that such positions were the exclusive province of men. A few determined and resourceful women broke through the barrier of prejudice and made notable contributions to the care of the sick and wounded soldiers. One of them was Ellen King Newsome, a wealthy widow of Arkansas, who early in the war acquired training as a nurse in the Memphis City Hospital and who

in December 1861 began to work among the wounded of General Albert Sidney Johnston's command at Bowling Green, Kentucky. She later served as superintendent of hospitals in Bowling Green and a number of other Southern cities including Nashville, Chattanooga, and Atlanta. She won wide acclaim both as a nurse and as an administrator. The same may be said of Mrs. Arthur F. Hopkins, wife of the Chief Justice of Alabama, who devoted her energies and her fortune to the medical care of Alabama soldiers stationed in Virginia. She founded, funded, and administered several hospitals. She was twice wounded in the leg while working among the casualties at Seven Pines in 1862.

The only woman to hold a commission in the Confederate Army was Sally L. Tompkins, who received a captaincy from President Davis for her outstanding work in managing a Richmond hospital which she founded and which treated a total of 1,300 soldiers. Equally deserving of a commission was Phoebe Yates Pember, a cultured Jewish widow of Savannah, Georgia, who from December 1862 until the end of the war was chief matron of one of the five principal divisions of Richmond's Chimborazo Hospital, at that time the largest military hospital in the world.

Innumerable women aided the Confederate cause by making clothing for soldier relatives and friends. In the early months of the war a common practice was for groups of women, aided often by slave seamstresses, to convert cloth issued by the Government and cut by experienced tailors into uniforms for entire companies. But as the war went on, provision of clothing became more of an individual enterprise, with each family looking after the needs of its own members. During the last two years of the conflict shortages imposed by the blockade required women to fashion uniforms and other articles of clothing from materials spun and woven at home and colored with home-made dye.

Economic pressure and the exigencies of war caused many women, and especially those residing in towns and cities, to seek employment in industry and government service. Some worked in ordnance plants making minie balls, paper cartridges, percussion caps, fuses, and shells. Others labored in Textile mills and garment factories. Still others performed routine tasks in the Confederate Post Office and Treasury Departments. In the summer of 1864 two hundred women and girls were employed in the Treasury Note Bureau at Columbia, South Carolina, numbering and signing paper currency issued by the government.

Information on wages of Confederate women who worked in offices and factories is sparse, but the scale apparently was lower than that for men performing the same tasks and completely out of line with the inflated cost of living.

Since the South was predominantly rural, and most adult white males were in military service, Confederate women had to assume major responsibility for running farms and plantations. Relatively few had the assistance of Negroes, for less than a fourth of Southern whites in 1860 owned slaves or belonged to slaveholding households. Women often had to sew clothing from cloth woven by their labor, tan leather for shoes,

and treat illnesses with medicines made at home from roots and herbs gathered from fields and forests.

Upper class women who took over the direction of plantations in many instances displayed outstanding administrative ability. But some found the direction of plantations uncongenial and onerous. Mrs. W. W. Boyce, wife of a South Carolina Congressman, wrote her husband on April 12, 1862: "I tell you candidly all this attention to farming is uphill work with me. I can give orders first rate, but when I am not obeyed, I can't keep my temper."

Women of all classes experienced hardship during the war. The plight of the poor was worse than that of the privileged, and those who suffered most were the impoverished residents of towns and cities. States, counties, municipalities, churches, and philanthropic societies provided some relief but their efforts fell far short of the need. Hunger caused "bread riots" led by women in Richmond, Augusta, Macon, Petersburg, and other Southern cities. Hardship was increased by marauding Southern soldiers. In November 1863, C. Franklin, a Confederate officer stationed in Columbia County, Arkansas, wrote his Congressman: "All here goes wrong. . . . You can hardly believe that men calling themselves Confederate soldiers would be insulting, beating, shooting at and otherwise putting in fear and dread the noble women who have done so much for us, but 'tis even so. One lady whose husband was in the army and who was herself plowing in the field had her horse and the plow taken from her." Instances of physical abuse were unusual, but the same cannot be said of robbery and pillage. The worst offenders were mounted troops operating in peripheral areas of the South.

The activities and attitudes of the Confederacy's Negro women are very difficult to determine because of the scarcity of pertinent records. Very few black women could write; so an estimate of what they thought and did has to be formed from a study of the records kept by whites. These records indicate that, in the uninvaded areas of the South, the life of the slave women was little affected by the war. But in regions penetrated by the Federals great changes occurred. Many house servants remained loyal to their owners because of their privileged position in the slave hierarchy and their long and relatively intimate association with the whites. But loyalty of the house servants was by no means universal. In a number of instances Negro women who helped their mistresses hide silver and other valuables on the approach of the invaders later revealed the location of the treasure to the Federals.

Slave women who worked in the fields--and they were far more numerous than the house servants--along with their men folk and their children ran away in large numbers when the Federals came close enough to make their escape feasible. Whether they ran away to hasten the breaking of their bonds or waited until the Federals brought emancipation to them, the overwhelming majority of slaves greeted the invaders with great joy and seized freedom with alacrity. Freedom was sometimes disillusioning to the Negroes, and especially to the women.

Women traveled more during the war than before, mainly to visit relatives or friends in military service. For the privileged few who had leisure and materials, reading was a favorite diversion. Many lower class women were illiterate, and those who were not frequently were so absorbed in taking care of their families that they had neither the time nor the energy for reading. The Bible was the most widely read of all books; newspapers were in great demand because of the eagerness of everyone to obtain information about the progress of the war and the activities of relatives and friends who were in military service.

What effect, if any, did the Civil War have on the status of women? It did not transform the South into a matriarchy, but the war and the Reconstruction that followed did weaken the patriarchy. The Southern male whose dominance both sexes accepted in ante bellum times lost caste by suffering defeat in the war that he had made and conducted. When he came home from the war he could not logically regard and treat as utterly inferior the woman who had successfully managed farm or plantation during his absence. The sensible thing to do was for husband and wife to pool their judgment and their energy in an effort to cope with the enormous problems of Reconstruction. And this is what many of them actually did. Men were slow to recognize women's changing status, as witness their opposition to granting them suffrage and admitting them to the medical profession. But women did forge ahead and the fact that they made far more progress in the forty-nine years between 1865 and World War I than in the seventy-eight years from the Revolution to 1861, as Mary Elizabeth Massey points out in Bonnet Brigades, shows that "the Civil War provided a spring-board from which they leaped beyond the circumscribed 'woman's sphere' into that heretofore reserved for men."

WOMEN AS SOLDIERS
(1866)

from History of Women Suffrage,
ed. Elizabeth Stanton, 1922

There are many and interesting records of women who served in Iowa, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, New York, and Pennsylvania Regiments, in the armies of the Potomac, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, in cavalry, artillery, on foot. A woman was one of the eighteen soldiers sent as a scout at Lookout Mountain--whose capture was deemed impossible--to ascertain the position of General Bragg's forces; and a woman performed one of the most daring naval exploits of the war. It was a woman of Brooklyn, N. Y., who, inspired with the idea that she was to be the country's savior, joined the army in spite of parental opposition, and during the bloody battle of Lookout Mountain, fell pierced in the side, a mortal wound, by a minie ball. Elizabeth Compton served over a year in the 25th Michigan cavalry; was wounded at the engagement of Greenbrier Bridge, Tennessee, her sex being discovered upon her removal to the hospital, at Lebanon, Kentucky, where, upon recovery, she was discharged from the service. Sophia Thompson served three years in the 59th O.V.I. Another woman soldier, under the name of Joseph Davidson, also served three years in the same company. Her father was killed fighting by her side at Chickamauga. A soldier belonging to the 14th Iowa regiment was discovered by the Provost-Marshall of Cairo, to be a woman. An investigation being ordered, "Charlie" placed the muzzle of her revolver to her head, fired, and fell dead on the parade-ground. No clue was obtained to her name, home, or family.

Frances Hook, of Illinois, enlisted with her brother in the 65th Home Guards, assuming the name of "Frank Miller." She served three months, and was mustered out without her sex being discovered. She then enlisted in the 90th Illinois, and was taken prisoner in a battle near Chattanooga. Attempting to escape she was wounded. The rebels in searching her person for papers, discovered her sex. They respected her as a woman, giving her a separate room while she was in prison at Atlanta, Ga. During her captivity, Jeff Davis wrote her a letter, offering her a lieutenant's commission if she would enlist in the rebel army, but she preferred to fight as a private soldier for the stars and stripes, rather than accept a commission from the rebels. This young lady was educated in a superior manner, possessing all the modern accomplishments. After her release from the rebel prison, she again enlisted in the 2d East Tennessee Cavalry. She was in the thickest of the fight at Murfreesboro, and was severely wounded in the shoulder, but fought gallantly and waded the Stone River into Murfreesboro on that memorable Sunday when the Union forces were driven back. Her sex was again disclosed upon the dressing of her wound, and General Rosecrans was informed, who caused her to be mustered out of the service, notwithstanding her earnest entreaty to be allowed to serve the cause she loved so well.

"Frank" found the 8th Michigan at Bowling Green, in which she again enlisted, remaining connected with this company. She said she had discovered a great many women in the army, one of them holding a lieutenant's commission, and had at different times assisted in burying women soldiers, whose sex was unknown to any but herself.

WOMEN AS SPIES

Belle Boyd

Belle Boyd became an agent at age 17. She matched the boldness of a man, yet she was utterly feminine. She played by her own personality. Belle spied by "ear" flirting with both Northern and Southern soldiers.

Belle was born in Martinsburg, Virginia, of poor parents but she had a good education. When war broke out, her father enlisted as a private, even though he was offered a job as an officer.

Belle had the nerves and daring of a man. She once walked across an open field, during the middle of a battle.

Belle began reporting information to Stonewall Jackson or Jeb Stuart.

Belle was arrested in March of 1862. She was taken to Baltimore, where a hotel was her prison.

A female Union sympathizer denounced Belle as a dangerous enemy. Belle was arrested once again. She was taken to Old Capitol in Washington, D.C. There, soldiers tried to get Belle to confess, or to swear her allegiance to the Union. But no matter what they said or did, Belle wouldn't do it. Belle communicated with other prisoners while she was in prison by digging holes through the walls, and passing messages through the holes. A group of prisoners, including Belle, were sent south in a prisoner exchange. Bell was warned that if she was ever caught inside Union lines again, she would be in grave trouble.

Belle went to England for her health, and to do Confederate business. Her ship was fired upon by the North. The Confederate captain was taken in for questioning, and a Yankee, Ensign Sam Hardinge, was put in charge of the ship. Belle immediately fell in love with him, and he with her. They were married, and Belle persuaded Sam to change his allegiance.

Sam returned to the U.S., and was arrested by the Union as a traitor. He spent a long time in prison and he became ill. He was released, and returned to Belle but died soon afterwards.

Belle was left a widow at age 21. She married two more times. Belle had theatrical careers in England and the United States. She died in Wisconsin in 1900. She was on one of her tours, and she died of a heart attack. Belle Boyd was buried far away from her home.

A southerner put up a tombstone which proclaimed her officially as a "Confederate spy."

Rose O'Neal Greenhow

Rose was another Confederate spy. She lived in a house only a few blocks from the White House. She was a friend of many high Union Officials, including President Buchanan and John Calhoun. She gave the outward appearance of a Union sympathizer, but she spied for the South. She used couriers to give the South information about Northern troop movements,

army supplies, and relationships among government and Army officials.

Mrs. Greenhow ran a spy ring. Miss Lillie Mackel was her closest associate. Together, the two ladies visited prisons bringing the prisoners food and clothing. They told the Confederate soldiers not to pledge allegiance to the Union.

Rose was arrested as a spy by Allen Pinkerton in 1861. She continued her operations, dispatching messages even while she was under constant guard. Her home was turned into a female prison by the Union soldiers. Rose was held there, along with her daughter and Lillie. Lillie died there and Rose and her daughter were finally released but sent South.

Rose ran a blockade, and escaped to London. She wrote a book of her experiences, and became engaged to Thomas Carlyle. In 1864, she received orders from the Confederacy to return to America with dispatches and funds. When the blockade runner neared shore, they met two Federal ships. Rose insisted on trying to escape in a lifeboat. A wave hit the boat, and it overturned, drowning her.

Pauline Cushman

Pauline Cushman's real name was Harriet Wood. She had a troubled childhood, and was a tomboy. When she grew up, she married Charles Dickinson. Charles was a musician with the Union Army. He contracted camp fever and died. She carried on, supporting the Union cause. Pauline gave toasts in public supporting the Confederacy, but in reality she was for the Union.

Pauline was assigned to spy on General Bragg. She took notes which she hid between the inner and outer cork soles of her extra shoes. She was caught trying to leave the camp without a pass. She was arrested, and Bragg's men found her notes. Later her captors heard rumors that the Union armies were getting ready to attack their position. They fled, leaving Pauline. She had to pass six pickets, but she learned the password. Pauline passed five of them, but at the sixth, she was arrested. Her notes were found again, and she was given a military trial. She was found guilty, but the Federal troops marched in just in time to save her. She went to Nashville where she was declared a Major of the Cavalry. From that time on, she was called "Miss Major Cushman." After the war, Pauline went on stage as an actress.

OBITUARY OF REV. BLACKWELL

Earliest Woman Pastor Dies at 96

The Rev. Dr. Antoinette L. Brown Blackwell, the first woman in the United States to be ordained a minister, an associate of Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe in the early days of the agitation for woman suffrage, died yesterday of arteriosclerosis at the age of 96 at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Samuel T. Jones, 331 Elmore Avenue, Elizabeth, N.J. Services will be held at 2:30 o'clock Tuesday afternoon in Elizabeth, in All Souls' Unitarian Church, of which she was pastor emeritus.

Born in a log cabin in Henrietta, N.Y., May 20, 1825, Antoinette Brown began to work for her living when scarcely more than a child, teaching school for \$1 a week before she was 10 years old. In the early forties she entered Oberlin College and there formed a friendship with Lucy Stone. Both were denied admission to the debating exercises of the men, and thereupon organized the first debating society ever formed among college girls.

When, in 1847, Antoinette applied for admission to the theological school the professors told her frankly they would have excluded her if the charter of Oberlin had permitted. To help pay her expenses she essayed to teach in the preparatory department, but the Ladies' Board, composed largely of the wives of the professors, blocked her by passing a rule against teaching by graduates of the college. She had made friends, however, and a private drawing class organized by them enabled her to pay her way after all.

After graduation she was engaged by a woman's society in this city to do missionary and social work. Her efforts met with the approval of her employers, but when she spoke at the first National Woman's Rights Convention in Worcester, Mass., in 1850, they were so scandalized her connection with the society ended abruptly. After that she worked as a free lance, lecturing and preaching where she could. She attained great popularity as a speaker, and occasionally received as much as \$100 for a lecture, a high price for a woman in those days. Horace Greeley and Charles A. Dana offered to provide her with a hall and a salary of \$1,000 a year if she would preach regularly in New York City. She felt herself insufficiently trained, however, and accepted a call from the Congregational Church at South Butler, N.Y., at \$300 a year.

Her regular ordination at South Butler as an orthodox Congregational minister in 1853 aroused severe condemnation. The New York Independent called her an infidel. Her church appointed her a delegate to the World's Temperance Convention in this city. When she rose to speak, the convention, composed chiefly of ministers, howled and hooted during the two days to drown her voice. Despite the aid of Channing, Phillips, Garrison and others, she was not allowed to be heard.

Later she went through a period of religious doubt, resigned her pulpit and became a Unitarian. She accompanied Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe in their tours for suffrage, and when the Federal Amendment was passed she declared it the happiest moment of her life.

Dr. Blackwell's vitality and enduring energy were remarkable. When 78 years old she visited the Holy Land alone, and at 93 wrote the last of her many books.

Her writings deal with religious, philosophical and scientific subjects, except the novel "The Island Life" and a volume of poems. The titles of some of the others are "Studies in General Science," "The Sexes Throughout Nature," "The Philosophy of Individuality" and "The Making of the Universe."

In 1856 she married Samuel C. Blackwell. They had five Children.

November 6, 1921

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SOCIAL STUDIES

CHANGING ROLES OF WOMEN

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by

Betti Pate

for

Division of Instruction
Dade County Public Schools
Miami, Florida
1973

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COURSE DESCRIPTION:
ANALYZES THE CHANGES OCCURRING IN THE ROLES OF UNITED STATES WOMEN. STUDENTS EXAMINE THE HISTORY OF WOMEN, THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BEING A WOMAN, THE VARIOUS PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL CHANGES WHICH WOMEN UNDERGO, AND WOMEN'S CHOICES FOR A FULL LIFE.

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

CLUSTER:	Behavioral Studies
GRADE LEVEL:	10-12
COURSE STATUS:	Elective
INDICATORS OF SUCCESS:	None
COURSE RATIONALE:	<p>There are constantly changing roles in our society. These changes inevitably cause conflict of some kind if one is not prepared for change. A student will need to be more flexible in perceiving changes, and in an ability to commit one's self to a wide repertoire of roles. In striving toward full potential, there are many cultural cliches (e.g. men are logical, women emotional; a woman's greatest work is being a mother, while a man's is earning a living) that are being challenged. A student will need to learn to deal with complexity and change, and should have the opportunity to examine the various historical, psychological, and social emphases on the past and in the present to better prepare one self for a future with choices for a fuller life.</p>

COURSE GOALS:

1. THE STUDENTS WILL EXAMINE THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES AND TRACE THE CHANCES IN WOMEN'S ROLES.
2. GIVEN SELECTED PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES OF WOMEN'S BEHAVIOR, THE STUDENTS WILL COMPARE AND CONTRAST THEM AND IDENTIFY CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.
3. THE STUDENTS WILL EXAMINE THE CAUSES AND NATURE OF SOCIAL CONDITIONING INTO MALE AND FEMALE ROLES AND RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTY OF SOCIAL CHANGE.
4. GIVEN INFORMATION ABOUT TWO OTHER SOCIETIES, THE STUDENTS WILL DISTINGUISH BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE TEMPERAMENT AND DETERMINE IF SEX DIFFERENTIATION IN ROLES IS INHERENT OR LEARNED.
5. THE STUDENTS WILL DISCUSS CRITICALLY SOME OF THE ASPECTS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN AND DESCRIBE SOME OF THE CONFLICTS WOMEN FACE.
6. THE STUDENTS WILL COMPARE THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY TODAY WITH ONE'S OWN CONCEPTS OF THE ROLES.

COURSE OUTLINE:

- I. Survey of History of Women
 - A. Colonial Women
 - B. Frontier Women
 - C. Southern Women
 - D. Suffragette and the 19th Amendment
 - E. Education of Women
 - F. Women in World War II
 - G. Civil Rights Act 1964 and Equal Rights Amendment
 - H. Women's Liberation Movement
- II. Psychological Theories
 - A. Freud and Erikson
 - B. Maslow and Lewin
- III. Roles of Males and Females in the United States
 - A. Stereotypes
 - B. Dilemmas an. Quandary
 - C. In Ages and Stages
 - D. Textbooks
 - E. Mass Media
- IV. Temperament in Two Primitive Societies
 - A. Arapesh
 - B. Mundugumor
- V. Psychology of Women
 - A. Why Women Fear Success
 - B. Marriage
 - C. Dilemma Between Career and Marriage
- VI. Stages of Life
 - A. Adolescence
 - B. Adulthood
 - C. Middle Age
- VII. Life Span Plan
 - A. Choices
 - B. Responsibilities
 - C. Chart life as see it now on span chart
 - D. Synthesis
 - E. Evaluation

Matthew Kohlmer
Eleanor Newirth
Secondary Level

Sex Stereotyping and the Schools
The Feminist Press
SUNY/College at Old Westbury
Fall 1973



SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THE HISTORY ACTIVITY
THE GROWTH OF LABOR UNIONS IN AMERICA: LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS
A CASE STUDY *

Aims: Study the impact of the Industrial Revolution upon labor.
Describe the oppression of working women in Lowell, Massachusetts.
Understand the role of women in the New England Labor Movement.

Objectives: To use the primary source material in formulating judgments about events in American Studies.
To develop awareness of the contributions of women in the American economy.
To eliminate sex-role stereotyping of women.
To develop an appreciation of the problems and objectives of the feminist movement in securing equal economic opportunity for women.

Content: A presentation of two views of working women by observers of working conditions in and out of the Lowell mills, statistics on Lowell working conditions and actions taken by working women to improve these conditions.

Method: Ask the class to listen to a series of statements by observers about working conditions in City "L" in 18-. Present statistics about working conditions in the factories of City "L." After comparing the statistics to the statements, students will make judgments as to which statements seem accurate (the negative statements). Present the list of actions to be taken for class reaction. (Which of these actions would you take to improve working conditions in City "L"?)
Discuss with the class the merits of the actions selected. Then reveal the real story by identifying the role of the Lowell women and other working women in improving working conditions.

Teacher Directions 1:

Read the following descriptions without reference to the place, year, people or source.

The following quotations describe working conditions in a factory:

"Look at him as he commences his weekly task. The rest of the Sabbath has made his heart and step light . . . you can see him leaning from the window to watch the glitter of the sunrise on the water, or looking at the distant forests and fields . . . or it may be that he is conversing with a fellow laborer near. . . . Soon the breakfast bell rings. In a moment the whirling wheels are stopped and he hastens to join the throng which is pouring through the open gate. At the table he mingles with a varied group. . . . The short half hour is soon over. The bell rings and our factory worker feels that he has commenced his day's work in earnest. . . . Thus, the day passes on and evening comes, the time which he feels to be exclusively his own. How much is done in the three short hours from seven to ten o'clock? He has (errands) . . . or a meeting to attend . . . a lecture or a concert . . . or he takes a stroll . . . or peruses a new book. At ten o'clock all is still for the night." (Anne F. Scott, *Women in American Life*, p. 28.)

*This history activity is excellent for intermediate and high school social studies courses.

LOWELL STRIKE,

"Let me now present the facts I learned . . . every morning I was awakened at 5, by bells calling to labor. The time allowed for dressing and breakfast was so short . . . that both were performed hurriedly, and then the work was begun by lamplight and prosecuted without remission till twelve, and chiefly in a standing position. Then half an hour only was allowed for dinner, from which time for going and returning was deducted. Then back to the factory to work till seven o'clock, the last part of the time by lamplight. Then returning, washing, dressing, and supper occupied another hour. Thus ten hours only remained for recreation and sleep. Now eight hours for sleep is required for laborers. . . . Only two hours remain for errands, recreation, and breathing the fresh air. For it must be remembered that all the hours of labor are spent in rooms with oil lamps, together with from 40 to 80 people . . . with temperatures at 70 or 80 degrees, where the air is loaded with particles of cotton thrown from thousands of cards, spindles, and looms . . ." (Anne F. Scott, *Women in American Life*, p. 31.)

"They were remarkably clean, well-dressed and supplied with the requisites for warmth and comfort. The windows of the room in which they worked were curtained toward the south; and in every window seat were seen exotic or native shrubs. . . . These too had the air of being more happy than the factory workers in England; and they have abundant reasons for being so, from the actual superiority of their condition; for they earn more money, have better food and clothing, work in greater comfort and lay by more money." (R. D. Iman & T. W. Koch, *Labor in American Society*, p. 34.)

"The workers worked 13 hours a day. . . . At half past 4, the factory bell rings and at five, the laborers must be in the factory. A clerk, placed as a watch, observes those who are a few minutes late and effectual means are taken to stimulate punctuality. At seven, the workers are allowed 30 minutes for breakfast, and at noon, 30 minutes for dinner. . . . But within this time they must hurry to their homes and return to the factory, and that through the hot sun or the rain and cold. A meal eaten under such circumstances must be quite unfavorable to the digestion and health. . . . At 7 o'clock in the evening the factory bell sounds the close of the day's work. Thus 13 hours per day of close attention and monotonous labor are exacted. . . . So fatigued (they are at the end of the day) that they go to bed soon after the evening meal." (R. D. Iman & T. W. Koch, *Labor in American Society*, p. 37.)

"Instead of rosy cheeks, the pale, sickly countenance of the ragged worker is haggard from the worse than slavish confinement in the factory. You might see the worker taken from his (her) bed at four in the morning and plunged into cold water to drive away his (her) slumbers and prepare him (her) for the factory. After that you might see that worker robbed of a part of his (her) time allowed for meals by moving the hands of the clock backwards or forwards. . . . You might see the worker beaten with a strap. . . . One worker of eleven had his leg broken with a billet of wood; another had a board split over his head by a heartless monster in the shape of an overseer." (Thomas Bailey, *The American Spirit*, p. 291.)

"First person: There are objections to factory labor which serve to render it degrading. . . . For instance, to be dismissed by the ringing of a bell savors of compulsion and slavery.

Second person: In almost all kinds of employment it is necessary to keep regular hours. . . . Because we are reminded of those hours by the ringing of a bell, it is no argument against our employment. . . . Our engagements are voluntarily entered into with our employers. . . . There is not a tinge of slavery in it unless there be in every kind of labor that is urged upon us by the force of circumstances." (Thomas Bailey, *The American Spirit*, p. 294.)

Questions to Class:

- a. Can you identify the time, place, years of these observations?
- b. Which observations do you feel were accurate? Why?
- c. Compare these observations with the factual evidence given entitled "Working Conditions in Factories—Pre-Civil War." What tentative conclusions can you draw about the observations and the people making them?

Teacher Directions 2:

The following fact sheet will be given to each student.

Working Conditions in Factories: Pre-Civil War

The following brief descriptions of working conditions were gathered from the several sources.

1. 1833—Homeworkers earned \$1.25 weekly and less.
Childless person earned \$58.50 annually.
Person with child earned \$36.40 annually.
2. 1836—A worker earned 25¢ to 37½¢ daily, working 12½ to 16 hours daily.
3. The workday in Paterson, N.J. factories began at 4:30 am with time off for breakfast and dinner.
4. Conditions in the Lowell factories:
Wages: \$2 weekly plus board.
Hours: 5 am - 7 pm.
One-half hour off for breakfast and dinner.
Six workers slept in a boarding house room.
Workers were subject to wage cuts and speed-ups.
5. Mill workers were often forced to buy at company stores. Sometimes factories paid their people's wages in store orders during 1820's-1830's.
6. In the Massachusetts mill towns, workers' lives were severely regulated (i.e., must attend church, must not stay out late, must not complain).
7. "The Rev. M. Ely remarked in 1829 that a slave in the states of Kentucky, Virginia & Tennessee was actually much better compensated than workers in the Empire City."
8. Mill owners forced workers to sign yellow dog contracts and also kept blacklists of workers who were considered agitators.
9. Workers in Paterson, N. J. complained that they were punished for lateness by having their salary deducted: one-half daily labor deducted for being five minutes late.
10. 1834—Wages in Lowell factories were cut 15%.

Teacher Directions 3:

Given these conditions, review with your class the possible options for change.

Possible Options for Change:

1. Send a petition to the government to protest pay of workers.
2. Go out on strike. Show solidarity with a public march.
3. Hold meetings to protest a wage cut.
4. Develop protest songs to inspire workers.
5. Publish a newspaper which carries articles portraying the actual factory conditions.
6. Promote and/or harass politicians who agree/disagree with your cause. Become political!
7. Organize workers in your factory into a union.
8. Go into factories where scabs are working and pull them off those machines!
9. Hold public meetings where the factory owners might be denounced as being part of the monied aristocracy who exploited workers.
10. Draw up a list of resolutions to present to management, and stay out of work until those resolutions are met.
11. Arm yourself and seize control of a mill.
12. Appear before legislative committees to influence the passage of laws in your favor.

Questions to the Class:

- a. Which options do you think were chosen by workers to change their conditions?
- b. Given those options, what characteristics might the people have who actually took those actions for change?

Teacher Directions 4:

Inform students that, in fact, all the given "possible options" were taken and the people who took them were women workers. Discuss students' reactions to the historical evidence.

Actual Actions for Change:

1824—Pawtucket, R.I.—202 women on strike, joined men workers, held separate meetings, opposed wage cut and longer hours.

1828—Dover, N.H.—First strike by women without men.

1829—Philadelphia, Pa.—Nine women and 138 men sent petitions to War Department protesting 50 cents daily wage and workday from dawn to dusk.

1834—Lowell, Mass.—Strike. First time a single woman spoke in public about the "Rights of women and the inequities of the monied aristocracy." Succeeded in rallying women to leave the mills.

1836—Lowell, Mass.—Strike. Used rallying song of protest, "I can't be a nun."

1835 (sic) Paterson, N.J.—Strike. Work day cut from 12 to 10 hours.

1836—Lynn, Mass.—Strike of shoe workers.
Strikes repeated in Manchester, Taunton and Pittsburgh. General opposition to wage cuts and speed-ups of production. Strike pattern consisted of the following procedure:

LOWELL STRIKE,

Leave the mill.

Form a procession or hold a mass meeting.

Make speeches and pass resolutions.

Strike leaders usually blacklisted.

1842—*The Factory Girl* (newspaper) established, presenting the reality of factory life.

1843—Chicopee, Mass.—Strike.

1845, 1848—Pittsburgh/Allegheny region—Strike for a ten-hour working day. Armed women seized a mill, forced scab workers from their machines and closed the factory.

1845—Petitioned the Massachusetts State Legislature about Lowell factory conditions. Attended state's hearings, appeared as witnesses and made demands for a ten-hour day. Persuaded the legislators to investigate the Lowell mills, but they ruled in favor of the mill owners.

1846—An association of women workers in all the Lowell mills pledged not to work; prevented a wage cut and work speed-up.

A weekly newspaper, *Voice of Industry*, founded by Sara Bagley, which agitated for labor reform, published articles, songs and stories by the working women of Lowell.

Labor Organizations:

1830's—United Tailoresses Society of New York—led by Lavinia Wright and Louise Mitchell.

Ladies Shoe Binders of Lynn, Mass.

1846—Lowell Female Labor Reform Association—led by Sara Bagley. Organized by over 120 women. Set up the Industrial Lyceum where lecturers spoke on the need for a ten-hour day.

Factory Girls Association—Coordinated Lowell Strike of 1836.

Lowell Improvement Circle—Women tried to improve minds and to dispel idea that they were just machines.

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ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

A PUBLIC SURVEY UNIT

Prepared by the Baltimore Branch
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Fall 1972

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ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

A Public Survey Unit

Introduction

This questionnaire can be used in the classroom to:

1. help students explore their own attitudes and the conflict sometimes existing between what they say they believe and the assumptions upon which they act.
2. to give students experience in public opinion surveying and the techniques of non-directive questioning, tabulation of results, and simple statistical analysis. Some practice in graphing of results can also be taught.
3. to increase student awareness of the difference between the general opinions held by their own group and those adhered to by other age and interest groups.
4. to increase students' knowledge about women and their position in society.
5. to sharpen English skills if the unit is carried to the construction of other questionnaires.

A full unit approach would have the students themselves answer the questions and then spend a week or more in discussion, reading and research on the areas of most conflict or of greatest interest.

Students should then be given some simple, basic training in survey techniques:

- the need to remain passive and non-directive in questioning.
- the desirability of seeking a sample roughly balanced in age, sex, and other obvious characteristics depending upon where they conduct the survey.
- the need for absolute confidentiality of respondents' identity.
- careful recording of information which will later be needed in analysis, perhaps by code letters: Sex--Race--Age groupings, etc.

Depending upon the local situation, students could conduct surveys in the school itself, perhaps comparing students and faculty; at PTA meetings; on their residence block; in a shopping center. The coding information sought would vary somewhat according to the place selected for survey. Sex of respondents should always be recorded.

More sophisticated students might be instructed in objective, non-directive approaches to more extensive polling, asking respondents to tell why they made selected responses in Parts Two and Three.

Finally, students might be asked to prepare their own questionnaires developing certain specific areas of interest. This would enable the teacher to give intensive guidance in the construction of clear, succinct and non-directive sentences.

Factual answers for Part Four, some statistical evidence relevant to Part One, and a bibliography for student reading are included.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN Part One

Basic Assumptions

For each statement, please indicate:

SA - strongly agree D - tend to disagree
A - tend to agree SD - strongly disagree

1. Generally speaking, women gossip more than men.
2. Women tend to quit their jobs more frequently than men.
3. Men teachers are better disciplinarians than women teachers.
4. Sexual relations are generally more important to men than to women.
5. Women are more likely than men to be influenced by emotions in stress situations.
6. The children usually suffer when mothers work outside the home.
7. Most women do not really like to work under other women.
8. Most men really do feel superior to women.
9. Most women really prefer a strong, dominating male.
10. Normal women find their greatest fulfillment at home as good wives and mothers.
11. In time of high unemployment, men should receive preference in hiring because women don't really need jobs.
12. It is generally better to have a man at the head of a department composed of both men and women employees.
13. It is more important for a woman to keep her figure and to dress becomingly than it is for a man.
14. Industry and large school systems etc. should provide free child care for employees in order to encourage mothers to continue working.
15. To make up for past discrimination, employers should give women preference in promotions until the male-female ratio is balanced.

SA	A	D	SD

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN
Part Two

What Century Are You Living In?

Please answer Yes or No.

1. Would you vote for a well qualified woman as president of the United States?
2. Would you be comfortable in a marriage where the wife earned a larger salary than the husband?
3. Would you approve coed tennis teams, track teams, swimming teams at your school or college (present or Alma Mater)?
4. Would you encourage your little boy to play with dolls?
5. Should a child-loving husband take off a year or so to raise the children if his wife has a good job and enjoys it?
6. Should a husband quit his job and move if his wife is offered an outstanding position across the country?
7. Should women receive equal pay for equal work?
8. Should women get in the lifeboats first?
9. Should the men be mobilized to fight a forest fire first?
10. Should a woman do her husband's laundry?
11. Should a man stand back to allow a woman to enter an elevator first?
12. Should the man always propose the marriage?
13. On social occasions, should a woman get the coffee when guests arrive?
14. Should women who keep house and care for their children receive a salary?
15. Should marrying couples make personal choice of whose last name both will legally assume?
16. Should a divorced woman be expected to keep the children with her?
17. Should college entrance and scholarship requirements be applied without respect to sex of applicant?

YES	NO

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN Part Three

To serve your own needs or the needs of your city or country, would you prefer to have the following occupations filled by men or women, or does it make no difference to you -- assuming the persons to be well qualified by training and experience?

M - map

F - woman

ND = no difference

1. surgeon
2. judge
3. physicist
4. elementary school teacher
5. driver training teacher
6. church minister
7. U.S. Secretary of State
8. U.S. Senator
9. Chief of Police
10. Housing Inspector
11. stock broker
12. electrician
13. housekeeper
14. gardener
15. auto mechanic
16. file clerk
17. hospital nurse
18. garbage collector

M	F	ND

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN
Part Four

Do You Know?

1. How many nations have elected women prime ministers in this century? Can you name the nations and prime ministers?
2. Who was the first woman elected president of the United Nations Assembly?
3. Who is the senior Senator from Maine, Republican candidate for the Presidential nomination in 1968?
4. Who was the first black woman to seek the presidential nomination from a major political party?
5. What two American women won the Nobel Peace Prize?
6. Who was the first woman member of a President's Cabinet? What title did she hold? Under what President?
7. Who was the first woman elected to the House of Representatives? When?
8. Which monarch is credited with first bringing internal peace and security to England?
9. Who founded the American Red Cross?
10. What Representative finally brought the Equal Rights Amendment for women to a vote after it had been blocked in Committee for nearly half a century?
11. Who was the only woman doctor to serve as personal physician to a U.S. President?
12. Who was the founder of Planned Parenthood Federation of America?
13. Who was the author of the book FRANKENSTEIN?
14. Name the book and its author that did most to raise the American consciousness to demand an end to slavery.
15. Two of England's most famous novelists used the pseudonyms Currer Bell and Ellis Bell to break into print. What were their real names under which they could not have expected serious consideration?
16. What American woman became known as First Lady of the World because of her work at the United Nations?
17. Who discovered radium?

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

Answers to Part Four:

1. Indira Gandhi, India; Golda Meir, Israel; Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Ceylon.
2. Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India 1953-54.
3. Margaret Chase Smith.
4. Shirley Chisholm.
5. Jane Addams, Emily Greene Balch.
6. Frances Perkins, appointed Secretary of Labor 1933 by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
7. Jeanette Rankin 1916.
8. Queen Elizabeth I
9. Clara Barton
10. Martha Griffiths.
11. Dr. Janet Travell (President John F. Kennedy).
12. Margaret Sanger.
13. Mary Wollstonecraft (Shelley).
14. UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, Harriet Beecher Stowe.
15. Charlotte and Emily Bronte.
16. Eleanor Roosevelt.
17. Marie Skłodowska Curie.

Information Relevant to Part One:

2. A Merchants and Manufacturers Assoc. study of 664,000 workers in California found that women do not leave their jobs as often as men.
5. Studies at Oregon State College and at Columbia University found that, under the same given periods of time and the same conditions of stress, the average man lost his temper six times to the average woman's three. (Ashley Montague, THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF WOMEN).

In those sections of London and Kent which the Germans bombed most heavily, male cases of emotional shock and psychoneuroses outnumbered

(OVR)

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

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A BASIC OUTLINE FOR TEACHING WOMEN IN ANTIQUITY

A course, "Women in Antiquity," was offered for the first time at Herbert Lehman College of the City University of New York in the spring, 1973 term. As one of a number of ancient culture courses taught by the Department of Classical and Oriental Languages, the course assumed no knowledge of Greek and Latin on the part of the students and only a minimal acquaintance with mythology and ancient literature. "Women in Antiquity," although it was a new offering, proved immediately popular with the students. The course was over-enrolled, with a total of forty students, thirty-six women and four men. Most of the students were seniors and juniors.

The major fields of the students enrolled in the course varied widely. There were a few classics majors, who tend to take any new courses offered by the department, but for the majority of the students enrollment in the course was motivated not so much by interest in classics as by interest in women and women's problems. For this reason, it would seem that an important qualification for any classicist teaching such a course should be an interest in and knowledge of the modern women's movement and its literature. Class discussion often tended to relate the attitudes toward women found in ancient literature to the attitudes that exist today in the modern world. While Germaine Greer and Kate Millett were not on the official reading list, it became apparent very early in the course that many of the students had read the basic feminist works and enrolled partly in an effort to gain historical background about women.

The key for a successful course on "Women in Antiquity" seems to lie with the discussion. Classes must be kept informal and students encouraged to ask questions and bring in material not strictly related to the ancient works under discussion. In one of our most successful class sessions of the term, we analyzed the symbolic meaning of various customs of the marriage ceremony, both ancient and modern. Another time we discussed witchcraft and its implications for women, starting with Circe and Medea, but ending with the Church, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, and Salem. Obviously, a certain amount of background material needs to be given in lecture form, but by far the majority of class hours were spent in open discussion.

One problem, however, did tend to develop out of the lengthy discussions, particularly at the beginning of the course. Some of the students evidently viewed the predominantly female class as a large consciousness raising group. It was all too easy for a "relevant" discussion about ancient vs. modern attitudes to turn into a personal therapy session, with a particular student pouring forth her frustrations and grievances. Not that everything personal had to be avoided, but it soon became clear that the maintenance of an intellectual rather than emotional atmosphere was essential if any real academic progress was to be made. The instructor must draw the line between discussions which are "relevant" and those which are "personal." Unfortunately, that line is always a thin one.

The assigned reading was all from primary sources. Students were encouraged to think about the view of women being presented and to ask why Greek and Roman women were portrayed in these particular ways. Greek and Roman men were thus an important part of the course, too. Since, with the exception of Sappho, our view of ancient women has come down to us through the eyes of men, we must ask such questions as why men chose to designate certain roles for women as "good," others as "bad;" why men automatically assume they are the superior sex in Greek and Roman society; whether there was a deep fear of women that influenced the literary portraits that have come down to us. These are just a few of the many important questions that generate discussion.

To facilitate discussion, the course was divided into topics with related reading assignments. The organization, however, was not strict. Often, as questions came up, we anticipated the outline and discussed material scheduled for late in the term or we regressed to discuss again something we had already covered. The outline was merely a rough guide.

I. The male as head of the family, divine or human.

- A. The importance of the Great Mother figure throughout antiquity.
Worship of the female as a fertility figure in other cultures.
- B. Male assumption of power in the Zeus/Jupiter pantheon, corresponding to male domination of the Greek and Roman family structure.
 1. The "demotion" of Mother Earth in Hesiod.
 2. The de-feminization of the important goddesses.
 - a. Virginity.
 - b. Male characteristics.
 - c. Subordination to males.
 3. The view of women in selected myths.
 - a. Pandora.
 - b. The Amazons.
 - c. Helen of Troy.

II. Greece: classical Athens.

- A. Women's "good" roles.
 1. Wives.
 - a. The ideal of the faithful Penelope.
 - b. The training of Mrs. Ischomachus.
 - c. Self-sacrificing Alcestis.
 - d. Phaedra and her concern with reputation.
 - e. The totally rebellious and fear inspiring wife, Clytemnestra.
 2. Mothers.
 - a. Medical aspects of motherhood and child care.
 - b. Medea, the worst mother of all.
 - c. Fear and hatred of step-mothers.
 3. Workers outside the home.
 - a. Problems of women deprived of male support.
 - b. Lower class women and slaves.

- B. "Bad" or fearful roles of Athenian women.
 - 1. Lovers: the great male fear of adultery.
 - a. Forces driving women to adultery.
 - b. Forces keeping them faithful.
 - 2. Rebels against women's powerless position.
 - a. The chances that the *Lysistrata* might actually have happened.
 - b. Totally negative view of women who do try to gain power over their husbands.
 - c. The "modern" view of Plato in the *Republic*.
 - 3. Witches and witchcraft: "sneaky" rebellion.
 - a. Circe.
 - b. Medea.
 - c. The existence of love charms at Athens.
 - 4. Prostitutes.
 - a. Hetairae and street walkers.
 - b. Training of a prostitute and her life.
 - c. Aspasia: the possibility for economic independence and even power.
- III. Other Greek women.
 - A. The life of women in Sparta as compared to that of women in Athens.
 - B. Sappho and her poetry: a woman's view of women.
 - C. Women in Homer: are women really important in the *Odyssey*?
 - 1. Calypso.
 - 2. Nausicaa.
 - 3. Arete.
 - 4. Circe.
 - D. Misogyny vs. pragmatism.
 - 1. Hesiod's *Works and Days*.
 - 2. Semonides of Amorgos.
- IV. Roman women.
 - A. The split Roman attitude towards women.
 - 1. The ideal *matrona* or young girl.

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- a. Lucretia.
- b. Virginia.
- c. Veturia, mother of Coriolanus.
- d. Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.
- 2. The reality of "evil" nature of women.
 - a. Cato's attack on women while defending the Oppian Law.
 - b. Lucretius on sex.
 - c. Superstitions about menstrual blood.
 - d. View of women in Plautus and Terence.
- B. The legal freedom of Roman women and its implications.
 - 1. The Vestal Virgins, the original free women.
 - 2. Marriage *sine manu* and the right to own property.
 - 3. Consequent psychological freedom for some women, but certainly not all.
 - a. Lesbia and Catullus.
 - b. The rising divorce rate.
 - c. The women of Augustus' family, Livia, Julia and Julia.
- C. Enslaved women under the empire.
 - 1. The freedom.
 - a. Ovid's advice to both men and women.
 - b. Imperial women: Agrippina, mother of Nero.
 - 2. The reaction.
 - a. Ovid's exile.
 - b. Tacitus' glorification of the "old fashioned" customs of Germany.
 - c. Juvenal's satiric denunciation of female freedom.

The readings on which the discussion was based were all from primary sources. The problem here was the huge number of books needed by the students, since the passages pertaining to women in ancient literature have never been collected and published as a single volume. Many long works have only a few pages which are relevant for a course on women. The instructor is faced with the choice of a) making the student pay for the entire book or b) going to the trouble and expense of duplicating the relevant pages for the class, or c) putting copies of the book on reserve in the library and hoping the students will make the effort to read it there. I used a combination of these methods, ordering as many paperbacks as I thought the average Lehman student could afford, duplicating short passages, and using the reserve method for some material. (These books were also ordered as "recommended" so that students who wished could purchase them.) There was, unfortunately, a definite tendency for the students to read only the material they had in hand at home, avoiding the library at all costs.

The following were the assigned readings, numbered to correspond to the outline of topics given above. Editions and prices of books purchased by the students are noted after the first reference to any given work. "Dup." stands for duplicated and distributed free of charge; "Res." stands for on reserve in the college library.

- I.A. Lucretius, *The Nature of the Universe* 1.1-25.
Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* 11.4-6.
- B. Hesiod, *Theogony*. (Brown, ed. Bobbs Merrill. .75)
Aeschylus, *Oresteia*. (*Aeschylus I*, Grene and Lattimore, tr. Pocketbooks. .95)
- II. A. 1. a. Homer, *Odyssey* 1, 2, 19, 21, 23. (Palmer, tr. Bantam. .75)
 - b. Xenophon, *Oeconomics* VII-X. (*Xenophon's Socratic Discourse*, Strauss, ed. Cornell. 2.95)
 - c. Euripides, *Alcestis*. (*Euripides I*, Grene and Lattimore, tr. Pocketbooks. .95)
 - d. Euripides, *Hippolytus*. (*Euripides I*, Grene and Lattimore, tr. Pocketbooks. .95)
 - e. Aeschylus, *Oresteia*.
- 2. a. Soranus, *Gynecology* I.3-4, 10, 19, 24-26, 34; II.30, 46-48. (Dup.)
 - b. Euripides, *Medea*. (*Euripides I*, Grene and Lattimore, tr. Pocketbooks. .95)
 - c. Euripides, *Alcestis*.
Antiphon I, "Against a Step Mother." (*The Murder of Herodes*, Freeman, ed. Norton. 1.65)
- 3. a. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 443-458. (Dup.)
 - b. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 548-578. (Dup.)
- B. 1. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 383-432, 466-519. (Dup.)
 - Lysias I, "On the Killing of Eratosthenes, the Seducer." (*The Murder of Herodes*, Freeman, ed. Norton. 1.65)
- 2. a. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*. (Parker, tr. Mentor. .75)
 - b. Aeschylus, *Oresteia*; Euripides, *Medea*.
 - c. Plato, *Republic* IV.445B-V.457B. (Res.)
- 3. a. Homer, *Odyssey* 10.
 - b. Euripides, *Medea*.
 - c. Antiphon I, "Against a Step Mother." Euripides, *Hippolytus* 508ff.
- 4. a. Lucian, *Dialogues of the Hetairae*. (Res.)
 - b. Demosthenes LIX, "Against Neaera." (*The Murder of Herodes*, Freeman, ed. Norton. 1.65)
 - c. Plutarch's *Lives*, *Pericles* 24. (Res.)
- III. A. Plutarch's *Lives*, *Lycurgus* 14-18. (Res.)
 - B. Sappho, *A New Translation*. (Barnard, tr. University of California Press. 1.65)
 - C. Homer, *Odyssey* 5, 6, 7, 10.
- D. 1. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 69-105, 373-75, 405-408, 519-24, 586-88, 695-705. (Dup.)
 - 2. Semonides of Amorgos, 7. (Dup.)
- IV. A. 1. a. Livy, *History of Rome* 1.57-59. (Res.)
 - b. Livy, *History of Rome* 3.44-48. (Res.)
 - c. Livy, *History of Rome* 2.39-41. (Res.)
 - d. Plutarch's *Lives*, *Tiberius Gracchus* 1.8.3-5; *Gaius Gracchus* 19. (Res.)

2. a. Livy, *History of Rome* 34.2.6-5.6 (Dup.)
b. Lucretius, *The Nature of the Universe* 4.1030-1287. (Res.)
c. Pliny, *Natural History* 7.15. (Dup.)
d. Plautus, *The Brothers Menaechmi. (The Pot of Gold and Other Plays.* Penguin. 1.45)
- B. 1. Plutarch's *Lives*, *Numa* 9-10. (Res.)
3. Propertius 4.11 (Res.)
 - a. Catullus. (*Odi et Amo: The Complete Poetry*. Swanson, tr. Bobbs Merrill. 1.45)
 - b. Cicero, *Ad fam.* 8.7. (Dup.)
Seneca, *De ben.* 3.16.2 (Dup.)
 - c. Suetonius, *Augustus* 61-65, 69. (Res.)
- C. 1. a. Ovid, *Art of Love*. (Humphries, tr. University of Indiana Press. 1.95)
b. Tacitus, *Annals* 12.1-9, 64-69; 13.12-21; 14.1-9. (Res.)
2. a. Ovid, *Tristia* 2.207-408. (Res.)
b. Tacitus, *Germania* 7-8, 17-20. (Dup.)
c. Juvenal, Satire 6. (*Sixteen Satires*. Penguin. 1.75)

It should be clear from the above outlines that there is no dearth of material for a course on "Women in Antiquity." The problem, in fact, tends to the opposite extreme — there is too much material to cover thoroughly in one semester. The most common criticism offered by the students at the end of the course was that there was "too much." Many of them suggested splitting the course into two parts, one semester for Greek women, one semester for Roman women. Perhaps at a school where students can be expected to read, understand, and mull over assignments completely on their own, the large amount of material would not be such a problem. However, at Lehman there was demand from the students and, I felt, a definite need to devote part of the class time to specific discussion of the reading assignments. This slowed the pace of the course considerably, since I was also unwilling to discuss only the specific assignments. We would discuss the factual content and background of a reading and then go on to consider it in a broader, more general manner.

Obviously, there are many interesting topics which were omitted from my course, due to the time factor. I would prefer, when I teach the course the second time, to include more Roman topics, at the price of cutting down on the Greek ones. Particularly missed in the course, as I taught it, was Cleopatra, a woman very familiar to the students from literature and movies. I would like the students to see the historical Cleopatra and to ponder why she aroused such bitter hatred in the hearts of the Romans. In addition, I would like to do some work with women and the early Church. This would make a fitting conclusion for the course and would help bridge the gap between antiquity and the Middle Ages. Women and religion in general might be given more attention, with emphasis on women as priestesses and celebrants of all-female rites, such as the Thesmophoria at Athens and the Bona Dea festival at Rome.

Students who were interested in additional reading on subjects not covered in class were encouraged to see me about source materials. In addition, a number of secondary sources were on reserve in the library for the use of students seeking information for their own satisfaction or for inclusion in papers. The following were chosen as basic reference works:

X Balsdon, J. P. V. D., *Roman Women*. New York, 1962.
 Carcopino, J., *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*. New Haven, 1940.
 deBeauvoir, S., *The Second Sex*. New York, 1953. (She includes several chapters on the history of women.)
 Finley, M., "The Silent Women of Rome." *Horizon* 7.1 (1965) 56-64.
 Flaceliere, R., *Daily Life in Greece at the Time of Pericles*. New York, 1965.
 Gomme, A. W., "The Position of Women in Athens." *CP* 20 (1925) 1-25; reprinted in *Essays in History and Literature*. Oxford, 1937.
 Lacey, W. K., *The Family in Classical Greece*. Ithaca, N.Y., 1968.
 Richter, D., "Women in Classical Athens." *CJ* 67 (1971) 1-8.
 Seltman, C., *Women in Antiquity*. New York, 1956.
 Slater, P., *The Glory of Hera*. Boston, 1968.

In addition, the recently published April, 1973 issue of *Arethusa* is entirely devoted to ancient women and includes detailed bibliography. This issue should prove a valuable tool for students in future courses.

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"Women in Antiquity," even with the problems discussed above, was at Lehman College and can be at other institutions a valuable addition to the Classics Department's curriculum. The course meets the student demand for relevance, since students interested in the women's movement will find it invaluable for increasing their understanding of the relations between the sexes. Such a course also helps expose many students to the study of the ancient world. We all recognize that many students no longer come to Classics through the traditional study of Latin and Greek. The students who enrolled in "Women in Antiquity" did so with only a minimal desire to study Classics. Yet several students became interested enough in ancient culture to go on to take other courses in the department, and two students even expressed a desire to enroll in beginning Greek. It would seem that the traditional way of developing student interest in Classics has now been reversed. A student now becomes interested in the field through general, introductory courses given in English. Only then does he decide to make the effort to learn Greek or Latin. In this process, a course like "Women in Antiquity" can play a very important role.

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